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THE HISTORICAL STATUS

... OF THE ...

NEGRO IN CONNECTICUT

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE

New Haven Colony  

   Historical Society

... BY ...







William C. Fowler, LL. D.

... AND ...

SOME BRIEF REMARKS

ON THE ADDRESS OF THE

Hon. Charles Francis Adams, LL. D.

 PRONOUNCED ON THE OCCASION 
 OF THE DEDICATION OF A NEW 
 LIBRARY BUILDING FOR THE USE 

... OF THE ...

“State Historical Society of Wisconsin.”

FOUNDED BY THE LATE

LYMAN C. DRAPER.



(FROM THE CITY YEAR BOOK FOR 1900.)

THE HISTORICAL STATUS OF THE Negro in Connecticut

A Paper read before the New Haven Colony Historical Society,

BY
WILLIAM C. FOWLER, LL.D.,

Copied from the Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries concerning the
Antiquities, History and Biography of America.
Vols. XXIII-XXIV, 1874-1875.

Edited by HENRY B. DAWSON, New York.

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The Historical Status of the Negro in Connecticut.

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NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY, BY

WILLIAM C. FOWLER, LL.D.

Copied from the Historical Magazine, and Notes and Queries, Concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America, Volumes XXIII-XXIV, 1874-1875, Edited by HENRY B. DAWSON, New York.

Negroes were first introduced into Connecticut, as slaves. Slavery existed in Connecticut, two centuries or more.

The slaves were not, in all cases, negroes.

“On May 3d, 1638, William Holmes, by authority of a “power of attorney, executed on the 20th of October previous, “by the Company of New Plymouth, sold to Mathew Allyn, “of Hartford, all the lands, houses, *servants*, goods and chattels of the Town of Windsor.” *

In the year 1644, “one Hagar” is mentioned, as having died. She was, probably, a negro or Indian slave.

Whether these “servants,” mentioned as being “sold,” were negroes, or Indians, or whites, it is impossible to say. *Negro* slaves had been introduced as early as 1626, eighteen years before, into one of the Colonies; *Indian* slaves were owned in Massachusetts, at or near this time; *white* slaves were owned in England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, who died in 1603, and also in the reign of James I, who died in 1625. This is stated on the authority of Lord Camp-

* Stile's *Ancient Windsor*, 43.

bell. *Indian* slaves were held in Massachusetts as early as 1638. *Negro* slavery existed in the Colony of New Haven as early as 1644, or earlier.

Slavery in Connecticut was the equivalent of the slavery which had existed in England for centuries, and with which the emigrants were familiar. It was the equivalent of the slavery which existed among the tribes of Israel, with which the Bible had made them familiar. It was the equivalent of the slavery which existed in the classic lands of Greece and Rome, with which their educated men were familiar. Negro slaves were owned by Theophilus Eaton, the first Governor of New Haven Colony; by John Evancee, a prominent man in the same Colony; by Hon. John Talcott; by Edward Hopkins, second Governor of Connecticut; and by Joseph Talcott and Samuel Huntington, both Governors, after the Colonies were united.

“In the Articles of Confederation of the four Colonies of New England, in 1643, provision is made for an equitable ‘distribution, to the Confederates, of *persons*,’ as well as ‘lands and goods, taken as the spoils of war.’”

“The same Articles contain a provision from which, probably, that Article of the Federal Constitution was borrowed, ‘for the recapturing and rendition of servants escaping into other jurisdictions. In the Narragansett War of 1675-6, Massachusetts credits her general account of the war with ‘188 prisoners of war, sold for £397,13.’”

“In Connecticut, the hostile Indians, who had surrendered before the termination of the war, were disposed of, for ‘the benefit of the Colony in service in English families.’”

“In November, 1639, Gysbert Opdyck, Commissary at the Dutch Fort, Hartford, by accident or otherwise, killed ‘a negro boy, Louis Berbice, from Dutch Guiana, belonging to him.’”

In the language of Mr. Trumbull, “This is the first black ‘servant, or slave, of whom I can find trace in Connecticut.’”

“One of the principal grounds of complaint urged, in

“1645, against the Dutch in Hartford, was their refusal to
 “surrender an Indian woman who had escaped from her
 “master, and was detained at the Fort of Good Hope. The
 “Commissioners of the Colonies protested against this out-
 “rage, for such a servant is a part of her master’s estate,
 “and a more considerable part than a beast,’ and thought
 “that their ‘*children* would not long be secure, if this was
 “suffered.’ ”

As early at least as 1653, John Pantry, of Hartford, held slaves, as appears by the inventory of his estate. Joseph Clarke, of Saybrook, by his will, “gave £15 to his father to
 “buy him a servant.”

“In May, 1660, Col. George Fenwick; in 1662, John
 “Latimer; in 1686, Richard Lord; in 1688, Hon. John
 “Talcott, as appears by their inventories of those dates, were
 “the owners of slaves.”

“In April, 1717, a Town Meeting, in New London, voted
 “to ‘utterly oppose and protect against Robert Jacklin, a
 “negro man’s buying any land in the town, or being an
 “inhabitant;’ and instructed their Representatives to move
 “the General Assembly to take some prudent care that *no*
 “*person* of that color may ever have any possessions or free-
 “hold estate within the Government.”

“In May, 1717, the Lower House passed a Bill prohibit-
 “ing negroes purchasing land, without liberty from the town,
 “and also from living in families of their own, without such
 “liberty.” *

Negro slaves were owned by Rev. John Davenport, of New Haven; by Rev. Timothy Woodbridge, of Hartford; by Rev. Joseph Eliot, of Guilford; by Rev. Jared Eliot, of Killingworth, now Clinton. by Rev. Nathaniel Chauncey, of Durham; by Rev. Noadiah Russell, of Middletown; by Rev. William Worthington, of Saybrook; and by many other clergymen. Negro slaves were also owned by clergy-

* J. Hammond Trumbull.

men who originated in Connecticut, but were settled elsewhere. By Rev. John Russell and Rev. Isaac Chauncey, of Hadley; by Rev. Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton; and by Rev. Ezra Stiles, of Newport. These men were the exponents of the slave-owners in Connecticut. In their wills or the inventories of their estates, slaves were regarded as chattels, to be bequeathed or distributed.

While the leading men, the Clergy and the Deacons, thus held slaves and employed them, in the family and in the field, they were distinguished for their Puritan piety and their high appreciation of civil and religious liberty. They practised family slavery; but they abhorred political slavery, religious slavery, and military slavery. They believed in the distinctions of superiors, equals and inferiors. They spoke of these distinctions in their prayers, and acted in accordance with them, in public and private life.

The emigrants from England were accustomed to distinctions in society there. The Clergy, after their settlement in the two Colonies, practically united, in themselves, a large part of the authority and influence enjoyed by the Clergy of the Church of England. They were addressed by the title of "Reverend," or "Reverend Sir," or "Mr." The Governor and assistants, and the Justices of the Peace, and others in authority, were treated with great respect, and addressed by the title of "Worshipful," or "Your Worship," or "Esquire." Equals were addressed by the title "Mr.," "Neighbor," "Brother." Inferiors were addressed by the title "Good man," or without a title.

When they and their descendants, for several generations, took their seats in the House of God, they were reminded of these distinctions, inasmuch as these distinctions furnished the rule for seating the house. When they listened to the prayers, or it maybe to the sermon, they heard the same distinctions referred to. As they read the New Testament they saw, distinctly, the relation of superior and inferior between God and man, in which obedience was required by

the one, and yielded by the other. They saw the relation of superior and inferior between ruler and subject, in which obedience was required by the one, and yielded by the other. They saw the relation of superior and inferior between husband and wife, in which obedience is required by the one, and yielded by the other. They saw the relation of superior and inferior between parent and child, in which obedience is required by the one, and yielded by the other. They saw the relation of superior and inferior between master and slave, in which obedience is required by the one, and yielded by the other. Moreover, they read in the Hebrew Law, "Both thy bondmen and thy handmaids, which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen which are round about you; of them shall you buy bondmen and handmaids."

It is true that they believed that Eve was the mother of all living; just as they or others believed that "the sun riseth, and the sun goeth down, and hasteth to the place whence he arose;" just as they or others believed that, in six natural days, God created the world. But this belief of their's, in regard to the oneness of the races, created no embarrassment in their minds, in regard to slavery; for as they looked upon the form, features and color of the negro, they saw a standing miracle in attestation of the curse pronounced upon Canaan and his descendants—"a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren."

While the Puritans of Connecticut thus looked into the Bible for the rules of duty and the doctrines of religion, they could not help seeing that the chosen people of God, distinguished, among contemporary nations for their high civilization, held slaves under the sanctions of the great Lawgiver. So that every time they repeated the Decalogue, whether as children in the family, or at school, they saw what, to them, was full proof that their neighbor's "man-servant and maid-servant" were his property, which they had no right to covet. Moreover, they felt bound to send back to their masters fugitive slaves; just as the Angel sent

back the fugitive slave, Hagar, to her mistress, Sarah; just as the Apostle Paul sent back the fugitive slave, Onesimus, to his master, Philemon.

Moreover, if they studied history, they found that the highest specimens of the human race, in mental and moral worth, had been exhibited in slave-holding countries, like Greece and Rome.

Slavery, too, had existed in England, in form and in fact, for many generations; and still existed, in fact, when the first immigrants came to this country. It existed in the other Colonies east, north and west of Connecticut; and after Locke became a standard author in New England, his readers found, in his *Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina*, this provision, "Every freeman shall have Absolute power and "authority over his Negro Slave."

The views of thinking people of Connecticut on the subject of slavery in former times, can be more fully understood from the following argument. It would exceed my limits to give the whole history of the case.

GOVERNOR SALTONSTAL'S ARGUMENT, IN FAVOR OF SLAVERY.

*Capt. Thomas Richards's Case, laid before the Honb'l
Gen'l Assembly in New Haven, Oct. 12th, 1704.*

"The Complaint is that several applications which he has
"made to severall officers in the Government, and to the
"former Gen'l Assembly, in May, 1703, for the regaining of
"Abda, a slave of his, the said Richards; an supposed to be
"a Molatto; have been ineffectuall; and he thereupon prays
"an Order of this Court, for the said Abda being returned
"to him. And sheweth, That the said Abda was, and ought
"still, to be held, in actuall possession by the Complainant,
"for life, for

"1. He was born of a negro woman, called Hannah, who
"was a servant, for life, to the Complainant's father: James

“Richards, Esq., which appears by the testimony of 2
 “women, who were at the said negro woman’s travail,
 “which are herewith presented.

“2. He was held as a servant, for life, by the said Jas.
 “Richards, and, at the decease of the said Richards, was
 “inventoried and appraised, as chattells, belonging to his estate:
 “which appears by a copie of an article in said Inventory
 “herewith presented. In which article were included sev-
 “erall other slaves; one of which was bought by Capt.
 “Wadsworth, of Hartford, and held as such, during her life;
 “and another is still held as a slave, by the Complainant.

“3. It also appears that the said Abda was, since the
 “decease of the said James Richards, and after the aforesaid
 “apprisement of said Abda, as chattels belonging to the said
 “estate of said James Richards, viz: in the Year of Grace,
 “1702, in the said Complainant’s actual possession, as a
 “slave, by the said Abda’s confession; attested by severall
 “officers in this Government; as appears by the copies of
 “severall Writts, herewith presented, which declare that the
 “said Abda complains to them, that the Complainant held
 “him in servitude unjustly, for a year’s space, last past.

“Which Writts bare date and are signed as followeth :

“The first is dated, ‘March the 2d, 1703,’ signed by

“(ELEAZER KIMBERLY, Justice of Peace.

“(WILLIAM PITKIN, Assistant.”

“The second is dated ‘March the 9th,’ 1703,’ signed,

“WILLIAM PITKIN, Assistant’

“The third is dated ‘March the 29th, 1703,’ signed by
 “JOHN HAYNES, Ju. Pa.’

“And that the Complainant did hold the said Abda in
 “such servitude, is not only evident, as aforesaid; by said
 “Abda’s confession; but also by the acknowledgment of Mr.
 “Edwards, allowed by this Court to appear as an Attorney
 “for the said Abda; the said Edwards having often declared,
 “in this Court, that the Complainant did hold the said Abda
 “in cruell servitude and was very severe to him.

“The matter of fact being thus cleared and agreed, your
 “Complainant conceives that he ought to have the said Abda
 “returned to him; in the state wherein he formerly held him.

“For the reasons following :

“1. According to the laws and constant practice of this
 “Colony, and all other Plantations, (as well as the Civil
 “Law :) such persons as are born of Negro bond women are
 “themselves in like condition, that is born in servitude : Nor
 “can there be any precedent in this Government or any of
 “her Majesties Plantations produced to the contrary : And
 “the laws of this Colony doth not say that such persons as are
 “born of negro women and supposed to be molattos shall be
 “slaves, (which was needless because of the constant practice,
 “by which they are held as such,) Yet it saith, expressly,
 “that no man shall put away or make free his Negro or
 “Molatto slave, &c, which undeniably shews and declares an
 “approbation of such servitude : and that molattos may be
 “held as slaves within this Government.

“2. Whereas the first law of this Colony forbids the
 “taking away of any man’s estate from him; without some
 “express law of this Colony, or (in want thereof) the word
 “of God *page 1st*. It has been alleged (to justify the said
 “Abda’s freedom) that such servitude, for life, is contrary to
 “the word of God : Against which, the Complainant offer
 “to this Honourable Court; that his holding the said Abda,
 “as a servant for life, is not contrary to the word of God: for

“1. It was established, by the Judiciall Law, that the
 “Jews might hold, as servants for life, the children of those
 “that were of a strange nation, although born among them :
 “See *Levit. 25th, 45th and 46th*.

“Again : The Jews were obliged by the 4th Command-
 “ment, that their bond men, and bond women, should san-
 “tifie the Sabbath day; and that Commandment was given
 “to be a rule to them, as much with relation to their bond
 “men and women, as any other servants : So that the morall
 “law, doth allow of such servants, as well as of any others.

“Nor can it be thought that if slavery were, in itself, contrary to the morall law, it could be established in the judiciall.

“Nor, doth Christianity, as is pretended, make a bondman to become free : for it is very evident, that, when the heathen were first converted to the faith of the Gospel, that conversion did not make any change at all in the state of the person, considered in relation to bondage or liberty : but if the person so converted, was a bondservant, before that conversion, he remained so, notwithstanding that conversion. See *1st Cor.* 7: 21st. The word there rendered, ‘servant;’ is the same with that which signifies a bondservant, or servant for life, as it is used. *Gal:* 3, 28, and *Coll:* 3d, 11th. In both which places it is declared that, in relation to Christianity, it matters not whether a man be bond or free.

“On the contrary side it is pleaded :

“1. That Abda has English blood in him, and therefore is born free.

“*Answer.* To which the Complainant answers : That no such thing can be made to appear. Because the said Abda is a bastard, begotten and born out of marriage, as is proved by the forecited testimonies, and is also confessed. And where there is no marriage; there the law saith there is no father. Paternity being a relation which can have no being, in the sence of the law, but where there is a lawfull coupling of two by marriage.

“And, whereas it is pleaded that one Jennings, an English man, was the said Abda’s naturall father; the Complainant replies, that that is a point uncapable of demonstration.

“It is said that Hannah, mother of Abda, did accuse said Jennings of lying with her; and so she did others, and some Indians; so that her accusations, if that could possibly prove anything, cannot prove that his blood is more English than Indian.

“But it is said that our law is, that, whomsoever the
 “mother of a bastard child accuseth of being the father of
 “it, shall be reputed, therefore Jennings is his father. To
 “which the Complainant answers :

“1. That the law necessarily supposeth the mother of
 “such bastard child to be a Christian, because she must be
 “able to confirm upon oath, in Court, the accusation she
 “makes in the time of her travail; which the aforesaid Han-
 “nah, mother of Abda, could not do, because she was an
 “infidell, at the time and since, and therefore her bare accu-
 “sation could not make Jennings to be so much as the reputed
 “father.

“2. If Jennings were his reputed father: the true mean-
 “ing of that is, that he shall be reckoned to be his father, so
 “as to be fined for his fornication, and to his maintenance
 “in his infancy; and he cannot by being thus reputed Abda’s
 “father, merely in order to punishment, convey any benefit
 “to him.

“*Objection 2.* The Jury have judged Abda to be a freeman.

“*Answer :* There is no such judgment of any such Court,
 “or verdict of any Jury produced: said Abda, never took
 “out any *Writt de libertate probanda*; and consequently, no
 “such judgment can be made or verdict given by any Jury.
 “And yet if any Jury had so judged him; the Complainant
 “hopes this Honourable Court will see by what is herein
 “offered, they could have no just ground for any such judg-
 “ment.

“*Objection 3.* He is a Christian and therefore ought to be
 “free.

“*Answer 1.* It appears not that he is a Christian.

“2. Christianity does not dissolve his bonds of servitude,
 “as has been shewn above.

“3. If he ought upon the account of Christianity, or
 “for any other reason, to be free, yet he ought to come at
 “that freedom by suit; for said Abda being held by the
 “Complainant, in servitude (as is confessed,) the law, Title,

“*Indian and Negro servants*, page 85, provides that upon his
 “deserting the Complainant’s service, he shall be taken up
 “and returned to the Complainant, and must be at least
 “reputed the Complainant’s servant, till he sues for and
 “recovers his liberty.

“G. SALTONSTALL.

“WILL WHITING.

“N. HAVEN, October the 12th, 1704.”

The result of the trial was, that the damages were awarded to Abda against his master; £12 thus virtually establishing his freedom. The plea for his freedom rested on the fact that his father was a white man—“that Abda had English blood in him, and, therefore, was born free.” This consideration seems to have had an influence, as well upon the General Court, as upon the community.

There appears to have been little or no objection to enslaving negroes, though this case shows that there was some opposition to enslaving mulattoes. Still negroes and mulattoes continued to be enslaved.

The following is the Deed of Conveyance of two negroes, once owned by Rev. Jonathan Edwards, the great Divine :

“KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, that
 “we, Timothy Dwight, Jr., of Northampton, and Timothy
 “Edwards, of Stockbridge, both of the County of Hampshire,
 “and the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England,
 “Executors of the last Will and Testament of Sarah Edwards,
 “late of Stockbridge, in the County aforesaid, deceased, who
 “was Executrix of the Will and Testament of Rev. Jonathan Edwards, late of Stockbridge aforesaid, deceased, for
 “and in consideration of the sum of twenty-three pounds,
 “lawful money, to us in hand paid by John Owen, of Simsbury, in the County of Hartford, and Colony of Connecticut, in New England, the receipt whereof we hereby
 “acknowledge, have sold, conveyed, and in open market
 “delivered, two negro slaves, viz : the one a negro man

“named Joseph, the other a negro woman named Sue, and
 “is wife to the said Jo, which slaves were lately the proper
 “goods of said Jonathan Edwards, deceased, and were, by
 “him, bought of one Hezekiah Griswold, of Windsor; and
 “we, the said Timothy Dwight, Jr., and Timothy Edwards,
 “do covenant to and with the said John Owen, his heirs and
 “assigns, that we have good right, in ourselves, to sell and
 “convey the said negroes, Jo and Sue, to him, as above, and
 “that he shall and may hold them, as his own proper goods,
 “from and after the date hereof.

“In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands and
 “seals, this fourth day of August, in the 33d year of his
 Majesty’s reign, Anno Dom. 1759.

“T. DWIGHT, JR. (L. S.)

“TIMO. EDWARDS. (L. S.)

“Signed, Sealed and delivered
 “in the presence of us.
 “EBENEZER HUNT.
 “SETH POMEROY.”

The largest slave holder in Connecticut was Godfrey Malbone, who had been educated in Oxford, England. He owned fifty or sixty slaves on his large estate, in Brooklyn, some of whose descendants are living still, in the eastern part of the State.

II.—THE SLAVE TRADE.

When I was young the slave trade was still carried on by Connecticut ship masters and merchant adventurers, for the supply of Southern ports. This trade was carried on by the consent of the Southern States, under the provisions of the Federal Constitution, until 1808, and after that time, clandestinely. There was a good deal of conversation on the subject in private circles.

I had read some of the Della Cruscan poetry, which con-

tained sentimental descriptions of the African slave trade. Some of this poetry I repeated to an intelligent Christian man, born in 1727. I remember what he said in reply.

“It was a great favor to the bondmen, among the children of Israel, to be taken from the ignorant and sinful nations, and admitted to some of the privileges of the chosen people of God, in the land of Israel; where they could become good men, and go to heaven when they died. It is a great privilege for the poor negroes to be taken from the ignorant and wicked people of Guinea, and placed in a Christian land, where they can become good Christians, and go to heaven when they die.”

Views like these I often heard expressed in conversation. They are something like the argument addressed by John Hawkins, the first Englishman who engaged in the traffic, to Queen Elizabeth, who had reprimanded him for it.

He declared that “he considered it an act of humanity to transport men from a state of heathenism to the enjoyment of the Christian religion.”

I do not know that she was convinced by his argument; but at any rate, she afterwards conferred on him the honor of knighthood; and he, as if perfectly sincere, took for the crest of his coat of arms, a naked demi-moor.

Their plan was, instead of sending missionaries to Africa, to die of disease, or to be killed and eaten by the cannibals there, to bring the negroes here and convert them.

The celebrated George Whitefield, who preached powerfully in Connecticut, recommended the employment of negro slaves in Georgia; which he advocated on the ground of the great difficulty of procuring servants. And how could they be employed there, unless they were carried there by slave traders? His friend and patron, President Jonathan Edwards, wrote a vindication of the slave trade. This I state on the authority of Professor Moses Stuart.

President Ezra Stiles, when a clergyman in Newport, “sent a barrel of rum by a slave ship to the coast of Africa,

“to be exchanged for a negro; and one was procured and brought home to him.”

All this was in accordance with the views which prevailed, and the course pursued by the authorities in Connecticut and Massachusetts, in their reducing to slavery the Indians taken captive in 1637.

“The Pequot women and children, who had been captured, were divided among the troops. Some were carried to Connecticut, and others to Massachusetts. The ‘people’ of Massachusetts (*that is, the Colony, by legislative action,*) sent a number of the women and boys to the West Indies, and sold them for slaves.” *

If slaves could thus be exported, why could they not be imported?

For a considerable time ship masters in the several ports of Connecticut were engaged, more or less, in the slave trade with the West Indies and the coast of Africa.

I take the following statement from a newspaper article, prepared by Hon. Edwin Stearns, of Middletown, who was very careful in the collection of facts:

“Upon a cursory examination of an old map of the *Village of Middletown*, about the date of the Revolution, it is estimated that there were nearly one hundred families in what now comprises the city limits. The names of all the Household-holders are given, with their occupations, as well as their localities. Among these, are noted twenty-two persons denominated ‘Sea-Captains.’ There are, also, three persons denominated ‘Sea-captains engaged in the slave-trade.’ There are, also, three notables living in the village, designated ‘Slave-dealers.’ These were, D. Walker, Captain Gleason, Captain Easton, or Eason. We have heard people in Middletown say that.

“A large and profitable trade, in *live-stock*, was carried on, between Middletown and the West Indies; the outward-

* Trumbull’s *History of Connecticut*, i., 92

“bound cargo would consist of horses, on deck, with hoops, staves, and cornmeal, in the hold; and a full load of Guinea negroes, in return. Captain Easton, who was one of the most successful of these Yankee ship-masters and slave dealers, would take droves of negroes to New Hampshire and Vermont, when the market here was dull, and exchange them for horses and hoop-poles. D. Walker was, probably, a speculator in slaves; and may have sold them to the fathers of the present race of philanthropists.”

Mr. William Lyman, now living in Middlefield, and past eighty years of age, states that Nehemiah Hubbard, of Middletown, who, if now living, (1873) would be past a hundred years of age, told him that he saw a cargo of slaves placed in the old jail in Middletown, and sold at auction.

Other ports in Connecticut were supplied with slaves from Guinea or the West Indies, or sent their vessels to supply other States with slaves. Thus, in the year 1804, a vessel from Hartford brought two hundred and fifty slaves to the city of Charleston. New Haven and New London were also engaged in the slave trade. When I resided in New Haven, two handsome houses were pointed out to me, which were built by rich slave traders. Indeed, a well-appearing gentleman was pointed out to me as a native of New Haven, whose father had made a fortune in the slave trade.

The same year that I took my degree at Yale College, I went in a coasting vessel to Virginia, the captain of which, John Anderson, a citizen of Connecticut, it was said, had been engaged in the slave trade. I had not the courage to ask him if the fact was so; but, in my conversation with him about Guinea, the Gold Coast, the Tooth Coast, the Grain Coast, and the Slave Coast, he showed such a familiar acquaintance with the country, that, incidentally, he convinced me that he had been engaged in the slave trade. About the year 1820, I saw that he was on trial, before a Court in New York, for being engaged in that trade.

An Act was passed before 1769, by the Colonial Assembly

of Connecticut, prohibiting the importation of slaves, for economical reasons. The Preamble reads thus : "Whereas, "the increase of slaves is injurious to the poor, and inconvenient, therefore, RESOLVED," etc.

The slaves, bought at a low price, were injurious to the poor in the way of competition, and thus brought down the price of labor, or threw the whites out of employment, and increased the taxes for supporting the poor; besides, in other ways, being "inconvenient."

The slave trade, nevertheless, continued. In an old newspaper I found that, in 1788 a petition was presented, by the Quakers of Providence, signed by Thomas Arnold, Clerk, to the Legislature of Connecticut, praying for the abolition of the slave trade in Connecticut, in which petition it is said, that they "have heard of one or two vessels being fitted out "by inhabitants of this State, that are engaged in this criminal traffic." It is also stated in it, that citizens of other States, where the trade was prohibited, were in the practice of clearing out their vessels to Connecticut.

After the Act of 1784, prospectively emancipating the slaves, slaves were transported out of the State to other States. A more stringent law was passed in 1788, for the suppression of the slave trade; and also a law forbidding the transportation of slaves from the State; as they had been transported to the other States. This law allowed persons going to reside in other States to take their slaves with them. Many years since, when I was in Georgia, I heard of a family of Connecticut slaves there. But whether they were sent there on sale, or were carried by those who went to reside there, I did not learn.

In the period between 1788, when the Federal Constitution was adopted, and 1808, when, under that Constitution, by Act of Congress, the trade was prohibited, there were many engaged in carrying slaves to Southern ports, though Connecticut was not as extensively engaged in this business as some other States, nor as Great Britain.

As already mentioned, the first Act of the Connecticut Colony, for the prohibition of the slave trade, was prompted by economical reasons. The people felt that a white population was preferable to a black population; that every negro imported, occupied the place of a white man, and they preferred to encourage the superior race. Besides, in the language of Dr. Belknap, "The winter here was always unfavorable to the African constitution. For this reason, white laborers are preferable to blacks."

It appears that Connecticut was one of the first Colonies to pass a law abolishing the slave trade. This was done in 1769. The Legislature of Massachusetts made an attempt, in 1767, to do the same, but failed; but in 1788 it passed such an Act, prohibiting the slave trade.

III.—SOCIAL CONDITION OF NEGROES.

Slavery in Connecticut was a family, or patriarchal institution. At the first, and for some time, it was almost purely such, as there were no Colony laws respecting it. Even to the last, it was largely such. The slave was under the laws of family government; and if, in any way, he should injure the public, the master was considered as largely responsible as, in the case of a minor child, the father is largely responsible. Accordingly, the Apostle, in the *Epistle to the Galatians*, says, "Now I say, that the heir, as long as he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant, though he is Lord of all." Now, the difference between the two was, that the slave was reckoned as always a child, and had, by public law, no inheritance from his master. And he had largely the rights of a child, which he understood, as well as the child. He had a right to food, clothing, shelter, medical attendance when sick, support when he was old, and a decent burial when he died. The master stood *in loco parentis*, and the slave stood *in loco filii*. And, not unfrequently, there was the reciprocal affection implied by these relations.

According to the genius of Puritan government, which is a government by local law, everything was left to the parent and master, which could safely be left; and Colony laws were enacted in aid of their authority over the child, and over the slave. The parent and the master were expected to administer correction at home, when an offence had been committed by the son or the slave, unless there were public reasons for applying to the civil authority.

In Doctor Leonard Bacon's *Historical Discourses*, page 302, the case of *Anthony* is mentioned, a negro slave of Governor Eaton. He had been intoxicated by drinking "strong water;" so the Governor brought the matter before the Court, instead of administering the necessary punishment, as he would have done, if the knowledge of the crime had been confined to his own family.

"The Court thought it fit, and agreed not to inflict any "public corporal punishment for this time; but as the Governor's zeal and faithfulness hath appeared (not conniving at "sin in his own family) so they leave it to him, to give that "correction, which he, in his wisdom, shall judge meet."

The negroes preferred that their master should punish them, and not turn them over to the civil authority.

"John Cram and Lucretia, his wife, were slaves belonging "to Governor Eaton. They were growing old; and the "woman being troublesome in the family, the Governor "built for them a small house, at the head of the lot, and "allowed them the use of two acres of ground, and they "worked for him, three days in the week."—*Colony Records of Connecticut*, iv., 172. The masters of slaves felt bound to provide for them in their old age.

The Guinea slaves brought into Connecticut were generally young; they were placed in what might be considered the best families in the Colony, if regard be had to intelligence, piety and social standing; they were taught to form regular habits in eating, drinking, sleeping and working, attending family prayers, and hearing the Scriptures read. They had

before them examples of virtue and religion, in strong contrast to the moral degradation, everywhere around them, in their native country.

Pews were set apart for them in the meeting-houses, where they generally were present; they were often questioned about the sermon heard on the Sabbath. They joined the church, if qualified; their children were often offered in baptism, by their believing masters or mistresses. They were encouraged to marry and rear families. Some of these facts I get from ancient Church Records; some from tradition; and some from statements which I heard, when young, made by owners of slaves, or by those who were bred up in families with them. In some of these Records of Baptisms and Marriages, the names of the negro children, and the names of their masters and mistresses who offered them in baptism, are given; and the names of the negroes married, and the names of their masters, and their consent to the marriage, are given.

The negroes being an imitative race, readily adopted the customs of the whites. They adopted church going, military-musters on a small scale, balls, had their annual election of Governors—some of whom were called Kings, in remembrance of the Kings in Guinea. The last of the dynasty in Durham was Caesar, whom I have often seen. On election day he wore upon his brow what seemed a kingly crown, “the round and top of sovereignty;” and, from his admiring subjects, he received their voluntary homage. He wore a sword; but whether a “dagger of lath” or of steel, I do not remember. He was escorted by an indefatigable drummer and a fifer of eminence. After the election ceremonies were finished, all the negroes rejoiced in a feast. The whole was a farce; but it had its attractions. It was something like the Saturnalia of the Romans, the Carnival of the Catholics, or the pastime of *High Jinks*, in which Pleydel personated a monarch, as described in *Guy Mannering*. This, I believe, was the expiring effort of negro loyalty in Durham. Caesar,

not long after, like Charles the Fifth, abdicated his crown, and retired to the "mild majesty" of private life, and had "troops of friends" in old age.

Miss Caultkins, in her *History of Norwich*, gives a very amusing account of the negro elections. She speaks of a decent gravestone in the burying ground there, bearing this inscription: "In memory of Boston Trouwtrow, Governor "of the African tribe in this town, who died 1772, aged 66."

"After the death of this person," she says, "Sam Huntington was annually elected to this mock dignity, for a much greater number of years, than his honorable namesake and master was to the gubernatorial chair of the State. It was amusing to see this sham dignity, after his election, riding through the town, on one of his master's horses, adorned with plaited gear, his Aides, on each side, *a la militaire*, himself puffing and swelling with pomposity, sitting bolt upright, and moving with a slow majestic pace, as if the Universe was looking on. When he mounted or dismounted, his Aides flew to his assistance, holding his bridle, putting his feet in the stirrup, and bowing to the ground before him. The Great Mogul, in a triumphal procession, never assumed an air of more perfect self-importance than the negro Governor, at such a time."

In many of the towns some negro, by his drollery and good nature, was a great favorite, affording the people as much amusement as the King's fool of the olden times did inmates of a palace. Sixty years ago odd sayings and queer remarks of negroes were current. They were generally very willing to be the fool of the play, with the full consciousness that they were so.

In the Revolutionary War a negro, named Cæsar, from Lebanon, when a soldier, I believe on guard, took prisoner a British soldier, and brought him into camp. He was much applauded for his adroitness and bravery. But, in performing this feat, he had violated some imperative order. The young officers, who were lying idle, determined that they

would have some merriment by bringing him before a Court Martial for a violation of orders. The Court was organized, and the trial conducted with a scrupulous regard to forms and ceremonials. When called on for his defence, he entered into the joke, and only said, if I remember, "I took him," thus making success the measure of merit, though not *secundum artem*. When LaFayette, who, if not Judge Advocate, was one of the Judges, made a very earnest speech, in which he showed the enormity of the offence, magnified the importance of obeying orders, proving that success in the war must depend on a strict obedience to orders, and saying that, in his country, disobedience to orders was punished by death, the culprit was condemned, but recommended to mercy. Cæsar, though pardoned, could not quite forgive this terrible speech of "Old Fayte," as he called him. He enjoyed a practical joke himself, but he thought "Old Fayte" carried the joke too far.

Many of the negroes were musicians; most of them were good whistlers; some of them were drummers, fifers or fiddlers. Cæsar, just mentioned, was met by Rev. Doctor Solomon Williams, the Pastor of Lebanon, who said to him: "Cæsar, I am told that you play your fiddle on the Sabbath: is it so?" "Yes, master," he replied, "I do a little, now and then, for my conversion!"

The Rev. Jonathan Todd, who was a Minister in Madison, then East Guilford, nearly fifty-eight years, had, among his negroes, a good fiddler. I think his name was Tom. He performed the same office in the family that the Scottish harpers did in the Halls of the Lords. On Thanksgiving Evenings the young people would collect together at the house of the Minister, to listen to the negro's violin; to dance a few figures in the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Todd, who had no children; to eat pumpkin pie from the hands of their hostess; and always to retire after a prayer, at nine o'clock.

Many of the negro slaves in Connecticut became hopefully

pions under the Christian training which they enjoyed in Christian families. On the three hundred and twenty-sixth page of the first volume of the *Annals of the American Pulpit*, it is said of Rev. Doctor Solomon Williams, of Lebanon : “Mr. Williams had little apprehension of the evils of African “slavery, herein agreeing with his cousin, President Edwards. “He looked upon the captives brought hither as rescued from “immediate death, and considered it a mercy to the poor “Pagans to have found a home, even as slaves, in this land “of Gospel light. He bought an African boy and girl, and “taught them to read the Bible; and the boy gave every “evidence of being a sincere believer in Christ. He died, “in old age, in the full assurance of Heavenly joys.”

“An old gentleman, at the point of death, called a faithful negro to him, telling him that he would do him an honor before he died. The fellow thanked him, and hoped “‘Massa would live long.’ ‘I intend, Cato,’ said the master, “‘to allow you to be buried in the family vault.’ ‘Ah ! “‘Massa,’ returns Cato, ‘me no like dat. Ten pounds would “‘be better to Cato. He no care where he be buried; “‘besides, Massa, suppose we be buried together, and de “‘devil come looking for Massa, in de dark he might take “‘away poor negro man in mistake.’ ”

In the house which I now occupy in Durham, died a Guinea negro woman, more than one hundred and five years old, named Ginney. When she was near her death, and Rev. Doctor Goodrich was requested to converse with her. “Yes, Massa Goodrich,” said Ginney, “when I die I shall “go right to heaven, and knock at de door, and inquire for “Massa Worthington,”—Rev. William Worthington, of Saybrook, with whom she had lived. “Massa Worthington “will come right to me, and I will say Ginney’s come; I “want you to tell God that Ginney was always a good servant. She never lie, never steal, never use bad ‘language.’ “Massa Worthington will go right and tell God, ‘Ginney “was always a good servant. She never lie, and never steal,

“never use bad language.’ And then He will come back to
 “the door and say, ‘Gimney, you may come in.’ And I
 “will ‘go right in, and sit down in the kitchen.’ ”

As already mentioned slavery in Connecticut was a family institution. There was often a strong mutual attachment between the master and the slave. The one defended the interests, and it may be person, of the other, as patron or client.

A Mr. Meigs, of East Guilford, now Madison, after working with his slave on a small island near the main-land, called “Tnxis Island,” now in the possession of the Meigs family, was returning from it in a boat, which being, by the waves, partially filled with water, could carry only one, which one should it be? The master sprang into the water, and left the slave safe in the boat. Being asked why he did so? he replied, “If I was drowned, I should go to heaven; but I “do not think Tom would.”

In many families negroes had an important position, especially as cooks. As compared with the Indians or the Irish, they were epicures. They generally took care to know what they carried upon the table, being their own tasters. In other respects they showed a strong good sense that was often serviceable in families.

President Dwight, on one occasion, in illustrating their good qualities, spoke of a negro woman in his family who was often consulted as to the management of his family concerns. Amused by this eulogy, some of my classmates laughed outright, when the Doctor broke out upon them: “If I thought, young gentlemen, that you would have as much good judgment and good sense as my servant woman “has, I should have a higher opinion of you than I now “have.” There was no more laughing.

In the *Minister’s Wooing*, by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, there is a negro woman, perhaps her name is Candace, who is a pretty fair representative of a class which has now disappeared from Connecticut, though still found elsewhere. It

strike me that it is a more correct portrait of a negro woman, than that given in *Norwood*, of Pete Towmill, is of a negro man, by her gifted brother; though in the latter, there are occasional descriptions true to the negro's nature.

The negroes were considered as lazy and improvident.

Rev. Doctor Jared Eliot had a negro slave named Kedar, and Kate, his wife. One Monday, on a spring morning, he took them to a house and farm two or three miles from the landing in Killingworth, where he resided, and gave them provisions and tools, telling Kedar what work he should do. Next Monday he rode over to the farm to see them. He, finding none of the work done, called Kedar to account. "Why, Massa," he replied, "it takes me all the time to fetch wood and water to Kate." So this excuse became current, as applicable to lazy husbands.

EMANCIPATION OF THE NEGROES.

"And, *whereas sound policy* requires that the abolition of "Slavery should be effected, as soon as may be consistent "with the rights of individuals and the public safety and welfare, *Therefore, Be it enacted* that no Negro or Molatto child "that shall, after the first day of March, one thousand, seven "hundred, and eighty-four, be born within this State, shall "be held in servitude, longer than until they arrive to the "age of twenty-five years, notwithstanding the mother or "parent of such child was held in servitude, at the time of "its birth, but such child, at the age aforesaid, shall be free, "any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding."

This Act was passed by the Legislature of 1784, the year after the close of the war, by which the State freed itself from political slavery.

A law was passed in 1792, allowing the owners of slaves to emancipate them, on certain conditions.

A law was also passed in 1797, by which negro children were free at twenty-one years of age.

This Emancipation Act of Connecticut, I consider as a model for wisdom and statesmanship. It was a matter of political economy, about which the Legislature was competent to form a correct judgment. They legislated only for themselves, and not for others.

I once had an opportunity of referring to this Act of Connecticut, very much to my satisfaction. In the year 1852 it so happened that, at the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Belfast, I was the accredited Representative of the United States, in that body. Archbishop Whately presided over the Statistical Section. To a large and crowded audience a paper was read upon the results of emancipation in Jamaica. A very violent debate, though personally courteous, soon followed, in which the arguments, from political economy, were all on one side. To sustain themselves, some of the speakers launched forth in extolling the glory of England in this matter, in contrast with the shame of the United States, and the wisdom of Parliament in contrast with the folly of Congress. I felt bound to put the thing on its true ground, so far as this country was concerned; and sent my card, by one of the committee, to the President of the Section. As soon as the speaker closed, there was a great struggle for the floor, which the Archbishop regarded with entire unconcern, and holding my card high up, he read, "Mr. Fowler, from Massachusetts."

Having stated that Congress had no power to emancipate, and ought to have no power to emancipate the slaves, I then went on to say, that the States had the power to do so, and had successfully exercised that power; and would, I trusted, do so hereafter. In doing this, I distinctly described the *policy and wisdom of Connecticut*.

There was a shower of applause, and the Section proceeded to consider another subject. The next day when I took my seat in the Section, the Archbishop left his chair and came down, and took me by the hand, and said: "I was very much struck with what you said about profit and loss, as

“connected with the emancipation of the slaves. It reminded me of what I saw in a pamphlet written about twenty years since, by a Mr. Smith, who had resided in the West Indies. “Have you ever seen that pamphlet? If you have not, if you will give me your address, when I return to Dublin, “I will send it to you.” I gave him my address; he sent me the pamphlet, which I now have. Others, likewise, expressed their approbation of the course pursued by Connecticut, and of the spirit with which she pursued that course.

In 1848 an Act was passed by the Connecticut Legislature, emancipating the few remaining slaves in the State. There is no Preamble to this Act, and no reasons given for it, if there were any sufficient reasons, either in the good accomplished for the slaves or to their owners. The owners were still required to provide for their support. It is not, in its spirit, entirely in harmony with the Act of 1784.

CAUSES OF EMANCIPATION.

In the War of the Revolution, negroes were employed in the Connecticut troops, who thus, in public estimation, became entitled to their freedom.

In 1777 petitions were presented to the Legislature, in favor of the emancipation of negro slaves, some of whom were expected to act as soldiers. From Danbury, Reading, and other places, petitions were sent to the Legislature, for remuneration for slaves killed in the war.

The vague and “glittering generalities” in the *Declaration of Independence*, were, by some, so construed as to have an application to slaves; though not intended to have such an application.

Moreover, as in Connecticut as elsewhere, there have been vibrations in theology, so there have been fashions in morality; and it happens, sometimes, that vibrations in the one are in accordance with fashions in the others. Doctor Samuel Hopkins, a native of Connecticut, brought in a new theology,

entitled, "Hopkinsianism," and he also, in 1776, published a *Dialogue*, in which he endeavored to show that it was the duty and the interest of the American States to emancipate their slaves. This had its influence. Doctor Jonathan Edwards, the younger, who resided many years in Connecticut, and who was an advocate of what was called "New Divinity," published a Sermon in 1791, on the *Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave Trade*.

But the grand cause of the abolition of slavery in Connecticut was, that *it became unprofitable to the owners and the State*.

It is to be considered that, during the Revolutionary War, and after the Peace of 1783, business was in a very depressed condition. The States had gained their independence, but had, to a large extent, lost their commerce with England and the West Indies. The agricultural interest of Connecticut, of course, *ceased to be profitable*. The people of New England, we are told by Pitkin, instead of being satisfied with the political liberty which they had gained, were beginning to remove to the British Provinces, where they would have greater advantages of a commercial character, though they must suffer the same political disabilities which they had fought several years to remove. As this state of things was beginning to be understood, the Legislature, in 1784, abolished slavery. The preamble to the law is in these words: "And, whereas, sound policy requires that the abolition of slavery should be effected, as soon as may be consistent with the rights of individuals, and the public safety and welfare, therefore," &c.

This places the abolition of slavery in Connecticut, upon the real grounds. There is no pretence of religion, or morality, or humanity, about which men might differ, and quarrel, and sacrifice the interests of others, to satisfy their own notions of right. Connecticut had always claimed the right to say what is property, and what is not property, and, generally, to manage her internal concerns; and now she exercises that right, in *her own time*, in *her own way*, and for

her own reasons. In her union with Great Britain, by Charter, in her union with the New England Colonies, by the Federal Constitution of 1643, or with the other States, by the Federal Constitution of 1787, she had always insisted on this right, and cheerfully accorded it to the other Colonies and States.

Connecticut was not stimulated to this act by anything *ab extra*, by no English emissary, no conceited self-righteous agent, or moral demagogue; but was moved by considerations of "sound policy," and by a careful regard to "the rights of individuals," and the interests of all.

During the time that the restriction on the admission of Missouri was pending, I resided in New Haven, where the subject of slavery was frequently discussed. From men like Hon. Elizur Goodrich and Judge Simeon Baldwin, I learned that, in passing the Emancipation Act of 1784, the Connecticut Legislature were influenced by *economical* reasons, as the moving cause. In the early periods of the Commonwealth, there was more labor to be performed than there were laborers to do it. After the war, there were more laborers than could find profitable employment.

By the provisions of the Act of Emancipation, twenty-five years must pass away before a single slave would be freed; so that there would be an opportunity to qualify those who were to be made free, to take care of themselves. The older slaves would be taken care of by their owners. The rights of the owners were taken care of, inasmuch as, in the intervening twenty-five years, they could arrange their business so that there would be but little loss, when the slave was emancipated. And if any one was disposed to complain of the law, he could sell his slaves, in the State or elsewhere.

Twenty-five years from 1784 reach to 1809, the year after the slave trade ceased, under the provisions of the Federal Constitution. The first of March, of that year, was Emancipation Day for the slave, born twenty-five years before, if there was any such. I recollect that, for a number of years

after that date, the inquiry used to be made, when this slave or that slave was to have his freedom? The slave thus to be emancipated at the age of twenty-five, felt very much as the apprentice who was to be emancipated when twenty-one years of age. The great system of apprenticeship, which prevailed in Connecticut, brought a great many of the white youth into the same category as slaves, so far as service or labor was claimed by the master. Indeed, in the Federal Constitution, the provision for restoring fugitive apprentices is the same as that for restoring fugitive slaves. All the States, therefore, were interested in having that provision in the Federal institution.

As the new Federal Constitution, under which we now live, had not been adopted, the inquiry arises as to the security for property in slaves and apprentices who might run away.

The security was found in this, that the several Colonies and States had very strict laws against the coming in of paupers and vagabonds from other States; and also for the protection of the several towns against their coming in, from other towns. While the laws and sentiments of the people were opposed to intrusions of this kind into Colonies and Towns, there was, practically, no difficulty in the restoration of such persons, when they could be found. As Christians, they felt disposed to imitate the Apostle of the Gentiles who sent back to his master, Onesimus, a slave; as gentlemen, they felt that comity demanded this course; and, as statesmen, they saw the justice of freely doing that which was expressly stipulated to be done in the Constitutions of 1643 and 1789.

As an illustration of the spirit that generally prevailed in the State, it may be sufficient to mention that, in 1783, after the *Articles of Confederation* had been adopted, Governor Guérard, of South Carolina, wrote to John Hancock, Governor of Massachusetts, in regard to nine slaves, belonging to Percival Pawley, of Georgetown, South Carolina, who were

then in Boston, in order that they might be restored. The whole matter was brought before the General Court of Massachusetts. Governor Hancock, Samuel Adams, and Tristram Dalton, Speaker of the House, united in restoring them to their owners. This was five years before the present Federal Constitution was adopted, which, by compact, rendered this course obligatory.

The same spirit of Christianity, comity and statesmanship still prevailing, when the Federal Constitution of 1787 was framed, there was no objection raised to placing in that instrument the provision for the restoration of fugitive slaves and apprentices. It was felt to be a reasonable provision in all the States.

V.—SPECIMEN ADVERTISEMENTS.

I.

“To be sold, a strong and healthy negro man, 29 years of age, and brought up in the country to farming business. “Also, an able body’d wench 16 years old (with a sucking child) can do all sorts of housework—for no other fault but “her breeding. Enquire of the printer.”—*New London Gazette*, October, 1766.

II.

“Ran away from the subscriber, a negro girl named Gin “24 or 25 years of age, a good looking girl. Whosoever “will return her to the subscriber, or secure her, and give “notice shall be generously rewarded, & have all charges “paid.

“MERIDEN, March 17, 1787. ELIJAH SCOVEL.”

III.

“FIVE DOLLARS REWARD. Run away from the “subscriber, of Windsor, on the 13th of May, a negro fellow

“named Tom, about five feet four inches high, is about 40 years old. All Masters of vessels and others are forbid harboring or taking away said negro, as I shall pay no cost if he become chargeable.

“ FREDERIC PHELPS.

“ HARWINTON, Aug. 27. 1790.”

IV.

“To be sold at public vendue, on Tuesday, 29 of Nov. instant, at the dwelling house of Capt. Enos Atwater of Cheshire, deceased, a good negro wench, about 20 years old.”

New Haven Gazette, November, 1786.

Elsewhere similar advertisements were published.

EFFECTS OF EMANCIPATION.

The effects of emancipation were diverse in different cases; sometimes being a benefit, and sometimes an injury to the slave or his master. In most cases, so far as I have heard testimonies on the subject, for the last forty or fifty years, it was more advantageous to the master, and less injurious, than it was to the slave.

Charles James Fox, in the British Parliament, when the slave trade was under consideration said, with truth : “That it might be as dangerous to liberate a man used to slavery, as, in the case of one who had never seen daylight, to expose him, at once, to the Meridian Sun.”

But, in Connecticut, the emancipation was so gradual, that it gave no shock to the feelings or the interest, and no great advantage, to the parties concerned. And yet, even in Connecticut, in 1793, when the process of emancipation had been going on, and was to be completed by the Legislative enactment, there were seen to be evils connected with

it. In an Essay, published that year in Hartford, where he then resided, Noah Webster, Junior, Esqr., made the following remarks: "Nor does the restoration to freedom
 "correct the depravity of their hearts. Born and bred
 "beneath the frowns of power, neglected and despised in
 "youth, they abandon themselves to ill company, and low,
 "vicious pleasures, till their habits are formed; when manu-
 "mission, instead of destroying their habits, and repressing
 "their corrupt inclinations, serves to afford them more
 "numerous opportunities of indulging both. Thus an act of
 "strict justice to the slave, very often renders him a worse
 "member of society."

In conversation with intelligent men, born not far from the year 1760, I often heard the sentiment expressed that the slaves, in Connecticut, were more moral, more religious, had larger families of children, and lived longer, than the free blacks.

From undoubted testimony I have learned that many of the slaves lived to a great age—to a greater age than the free blacks. It is to be considered that there are now a greater number of mulattoes, in proportion to the whole number of blacks, than there were in the last century; and mulattoes are not as hardy, and do not live as long, as the pure negro or the pure white.

In the year 1822 I visited the State Prison, or Newgate, as it was called, at Granby. If I recollect right, something like a quarter of all the prisoners were blacks. In the July number of the *Christian Spectator*, for the year 1828, it is said, that "in Connecticut, one out of thirty-four of the
 "whole population are blacks, and one out of three of the
 "convicts, are blacks." This is an enormous disproportion. It shows that there were more than ten times as many blacks as whites who were convicts, as compared with the whole population. In the same article it is said that, in Connecticut, "in fifteen years, thirty-seven thousand dollars" were expended in supporting the black convicts.

From the Warden of the Connecticut State Prison, in Wethersfield, I learn that, in the year 1839, the total number of convicts was one hundred and eighty-three, of which the whites were one hundred and thirty-five, and the blacks forty-eight. In 1849, total, one hundred and fifty seven—whites, one hundred and fifteen; blacks, forty-two. In 1859, total, two hundred—whites, one hundred and seventy-four; blacks, twenty-six. In 1867, total, two hundred and seven—whites, one hundred and seventy-seven; blacks, thirty.

In view of these and other facts, it is impossible for me to resist the conviction that there has been a great falling off in the morals of negroes, in the successive generations, since their emancipation in Connecticut.

To this there may be exceptional cases, in those cities where especial pains have been taken to promote the moral improvement of the negroes.

As to the increase or diminution of the negroes and mulattoes, I have the following statistical statements. Before presenting them, I would say that, as a general fact, the blacks, in the agricultural towns, are not as numerous, absolutely or relatively, as formerly. In Durham, for instance, in 1774, there were forty-four blacks, the most, or nearly all of them, slaves. In 1868 there were *three*. In the cities there have been, in some cases, an increase absolutely, but not relatively. They do not incline to agricultural labors so much as they do to domestic service, as cooks, waiters in hotels, barbers, shoeblacks, or other menial servants.

It should be mentioned that the negroes have two Congregational Churches—one in Hartford, the other in New Haven; four Methodist Churches—one in Hartford, one in New Haven, one in Norwich, and one in Bridgeport; also a Union Church, in New Haven; also an Episcopal Church, in New Haven. What is the whole number of churchgoers,

and the whole number of communicants, compared with those of former times, I have no means for determining.

CENSUS OF THE NEGROES, IN CONNECTICUT.

In 1756 there were one hundred and twenty-six thousand, nine hundred and seventy-six whites; and three thousand, six hundred and thirty-six blacks. In 1774 there were one hundred and ninety-one thousand, four hundred and forty-eight whites; and six thousand, five hundred and sixty-two blacks. In 1782, in Hartford County, including Middletown and Tolland, there were fifty-five thousand, six hundred and forty-seven whites; and one thousand, three hundred and twenty-six blacks. In New Haven County there were twenty-five thousand, and ninety-two whites; and eight hundred and eighty-one blacks. In New London County there were thirty-one thousand, one hundred and thirty-one whites; and one thousand, nine hundred and twenty blacks. In Fairfield County there were twenty-nine thousand, seven hundred and twenty-two whites; and one thousand, one hundred and thirty-four blacks. In Windham County there were twenty-eight thousand, one hundred and eighty-five whites; and four hundred and eighty-five blacks. And in Litchfield County there were thirty-three thousand, one hundred and twenty-seven whites; and five hundred and twenty-nine blacks. Making a total, in the entire State, of two hundred and two thousand, nine hundred and two whites; and six thousand, two hundred and eighty-one blacks.

In 1800 there were two hundred and forty-five thousand, six hundred and twenty-one whites; four thousand, three hundred and thirty free blacks; and nine hundred and fifty-one slaves. In 1820 there were two hundred and sixty-seven thousand, one hundred and sixty-one whites; free blacks, seven thousand, eight hundred and forty-four; and ninety-seven slaves. In 1840 there were three hundred and one thousand, eight hundred and fifty-six whites; eight thousand

one hundred and five free blacks; and seventeen slaves. In 1860 there were four hundred and fifty-one thousand, five hundred and four whites; eight thousand, six hundred and twenty-seven free blacks; and sixteen Indians. And in 1870 there were five hundred and twenty-seven thousand, five hundred and forty-nine whites; and nine thousand, six hundred and sixty-eight free blacks.

From the statements above, it appears that in 1782, two years before the Act of Emancipation was passed, the number of the blacks, as compared with the whites, was one black for every thirty-two whites; and that in 1860 the number of the blacks, as compared with the whites, was one black for every fifty-two whites. This shows a great relative diminution of the blacks. But, in order to come to an exact opinion, it would be necessary to take into the account the great emigration of the whites to other parts of the country, and the great immigration of foreigners for the last thirty years, on the one hand, and the coming in of fugitive slaves on the other. It is believed, however, that the negroes have not, since their emancipation, by natural increase, kept their number good, as compared with the whites. It is also believed that the number of mulattoes, from illicit intercourse, has increased, as compared with the pure negroes.

Whether the emancipation of the negroes in Connecticut, in its effects, was a mercy to them, in improving their condition, or a punishment for their being unprofitable servants, I leave for others to say.

THE NEGRO MADE PROMINENT, AT CERTAIN EPOCHS.

In 1819, '20, and '21, the public mind in Connecticut was excited, for the first time, to a high degree, on the subject of slavery, by a proposed restriction on Missouri. On the thirteenth of February, 1819, a Bill was called up in the Federal House of Representatives to admit Missouri as a

State. Mr. Tallmage, of New York, moved an amendment to the Bill, by which slavery would be prohibited. Missouri was admitted, without restriction, on the twenty-eighth of February, 1821, three years after the Bill was presented. In this period an excitement was got up in Connecticut; and when the Bill passed, a Senator of the State, who voted for it, was burned, or hung in effigy, I think in Norwich; and one of the Representatives was, for a time, put under the ban. I remember seeing in College Street, New Haven, a company of boys marching to music, and bearing pictures adapted to make slavery and slave holders in Virginia, odious. A pamphlet, entitled *Pochahontas*, was prepared and published at the same place, for the same purpose. This demonstration took place not far from the time of Mr. Monroe's election for the second term—the fourth President elected from Virginia, for two terms each.

If, in 1817, Mr. George Cabot, or Rufus King, or DeWitt Clinton had been elected President, instead of Mr. Monroe, the restriction on Missouri would not have been heard of.

NEGRO COLLEGE.

“NEW HAVEN. Saturday September 10th, 1831.

“It will be seen by an advertisement in this paper, that a
 “call is made on our citizens, to meet this day, and express
 “their opinion on the expediency of establishing a College,
 “in this city, for the education of colored persons. We do
 “not know, but we are slow of heart to believe, but we con-
 “fess we cannot think there are just grounds to fear the
 “establishment of any such institution in this town. Not-
 “withstanding all the idle reports, we do not believe that
 “money can be raised for such a purpose to make it worth
 “while for any man or body of men to spend time in talking
 “in favor or against such an institution. Besides, who would
 “think of locating a School or College in a town where forty-
 “nine-fiftieths of the inhabitants are against the project?

"There is, to be sure, one individual citizen, who has publicly
 "engaged in favor of the project, and has, for some time
 "shown an honest and commendable zeal in the work of
 "civilizing and christianizing the blacks, among us. There
 "is, probably, not a man in the town of more honest and
 "upright intentions; but, in this project, zeal has eaten up
 "his better sense. If there are half a dozen others, whose
 "feelings correspond with his, it is enough to say that they
 "are somewhat delirious. We repeat it, we see no cause for
 "such an excitement (growing out of a project that hardly
 "begins to be talked of, by its friends) as to call for a City-
 "meeting, at present. We dislike these hasty City-meetings.
 "We once knew our citizens vote, in a hurry, to involve
 "themselves in a debt of one hundred thousand dollars.
 "We say, give us time to hear, with ears.

"One word more—if it is necessary to have an African
 "College, in Connecticut, may not the projectors of it, on
 "mature consideration, conclude to locate it in the town of
 "Cornwall, and there occupy the buildings prepared to their
 "hands by the friends of Indian Colleges, who flourished, in
 "these parts, a few years ago? Cornwall possesses many
 "advantages for such an institution, over other places; and
 "it is not among the least of them, that the ladies of that
 "town readily give themselves, better for worse, and worse
 "for better, to the colored gentlemen. This and other con-
 "siderations may have a strong tendency to draw the proposed
 "College to that town. We hope, therefore, that our citizens
 "will act with coolness, on this subject."

The inhabitants of New Haven met, according to appoint-
 ment, and passed strong votes, by great majorities, in oppo-
 sition to the establishment of a Negro College in New Haven.

On the tenth of September, 1831, the demonstration
 already mentioned took place, designed to prevent the estab-
 lishment of a Negro College in New Haven. At this
 meeting of the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council and

Freemen of the city of New Haven, resolutions were passed in opposition to the propagation of abolition sentiments, and to the establishment of the proposed Negro College; and the reasons for this opposition were distinctly set forth.

In 1833 the Legislature of Connecticut passed an Act by which it was rendered penal to establish schools in the Commonwealth for the instruction of negroes from other States. The reason is given in the Preamble to the Act, namely : " That they would tend to the great increase of the colored population of the State, and thereby to the injury of the people." Substantially the same reason which was given for the suppression of the slave trade. In Connecticut, under this Act, Prudence Crandall was convicted of having set up such a school in Canterbury. In administering the law in that trial, Judge Daggett, who presided, said : " The persons contemplated in this Act are not citizens within the obvious meaning of that Section of the Constitution of the United States, which I have just read."

In 1835 public meetings were held in Hartford and New Haven, which passed resolutions condemning the operations of the Abolitionists for sending incendiary and seditious publications into the Southern States. The sentiments embodied in those resolutions were in harmony, it is believed, with the sentiments generally entertained by the intelligent and patriotic people of the State.

In the year 1838 the Legislature of the State passed an Act nullifying, *in part*, the fugitive slave law of 1793, which was signed by George Washington, and voted for by the Connecticut delegation at that time. For such an Act the title was remarkable : *An Act for the fulfillment of the obligations of this State, imposed by the Constitution of the United States, in regard to persons held to service or labor in one State and escaping into another State, and to secure the right of trial by jury, in the cases herein mentioned.*

In the year 1854 the Legislature of the State passed an Act nullifying the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. The Act was entitled, *An Act for the defense of liberty in this State.*

In 1865 the Legislature of Connecticut voted to amend the Federal Constitution for the abolition of slavery in other States.

PRIVILEGE OF SUFFRAGE.

From the first through a period of something like two hundred years, it was no more expected that negroes should have the right of suffrage in freemen's meetings and in town meetings, than that Indians or women or children should have that right. No law was necessary on the subject as to either of these classes. It is not known that they wished to vote, or that respectable freemen wished them to vote. A property qualification for voting effectually prevented the great mass of them from exercising the privilege of suffrage, even if public opinion had allowed it. The people of Connecticut were practical, and believed that our two-fold Government was created by and for *white* men.

In the May Session of the Legislature in 1818, an Act was passed confining the privilege of suffrage to white male citizens of this State.

By the State Constitution, adopted by the people, on the first Monday of October, 1818, the privilege of suffrage was confined to "white male citizens of the United States."

In 1847 an amendment to the Constitution was proposed, by which negroes should have the right of suffrage, but the people of the State, by their vote, refused to alter the Constitution.*

In 1865 a similar amendment was acted on by the people who, by their vote, refused to alter the Constitution.†

* In the year 1847 the question of striking out the word "white" was first submitted to the people—Yeas, 5,353; Nays, 19, 148. Majority *against* the Measure, 13,795.

† In the year 1865 the same question. Result—Yeas, 27,217; Nays, 33,489. Majority *against* the Measure, 6,272.

In the year 1869, at the May Session, the Legislature ratified the

INDIAN SLAVES.

It is not the purpose for which this paper is prepared to present the history of Indian slavery in this Commonwealth. It may not, however, be out of place to say, in addition to what has already been stated, that, in the wars with the Indians, slaves were distributed in small numbers in the Colony or elsewhere. There grew up a mixed race, to some extent—a cross between the Indian and the negroes, some of whom I have seen. I heard aged people discuss the comparative merits of Indian slaves and negro slaves; and they always gave the preference to the latter. They entertained, to some extent, the opinion of Mr. Palfrey, as to the inferiority of the Indian race.

As to the origin of this inferiority, they could get no clue from the Bible, their text-book in science as well as in religion; and, when the old question came up, in regard to the descent of all men from one pair, some rustic philosopher, *abnormis sapiens crassaque Minerva*, seeing before him specimens of three great races—the Caucasian, the African, and the American—would say a miracle, recorded in the Bible, produced the African, and a greater miracle may have produced the Indian.

As compared with the negroes, the Indian slaves were not favorites. Their passions were stronger, though their appetites were weaker; they were equally lazy, improvident and unprofitable.

In the inventory of Gabriel Harris, of New London, in 1684, an "Indian maid-servant" is valued at £15.

In the *History of New London*, it is stated that John Prentis, in his will, in 1711, distributed his "Indian servants" as

amendment to the Federal Constitution, allowing negroes to vote. Senate—Yeas, 12; Nays, 5. House—Yeas, 126; Nays, 104.

Had this question been submitted directly to the people for decision, in 1869, it is believed that the decision would have been different, and in accordance with former decisions.

follows : “To my son-in-law, Thomas Hosmer, of Hartford, one black girl, Simone, till she is 30—then she is to be free. To my son-in-law, John Bulkley, Billah—to be free at 32. To my daughter, Sarah, Zilpha—to be free at 32. To my daughter, Elizabeth, a black boy named Hannibal, to be free at 35. To Scipio, I have promised freedom at 30. Rachel, the Mother, I give to Irene—also little one, with her, named Dido, who is to be free at 32.”

APPRENTICESHIP.

Formerly, a great system of apprenticeship, borrowed from England, prevailed in this country. In that system, parents of Selectmen of the town indentured boys at fourteen years of age, and girls, perhaps younger—the former to stay with a master or mistress until twenty-one years of age, and the latter until eighteen. Parents often felt that it was a great privilege to place their children in this way in respectable, intelligent and religious families. Like the children of the family, like the slaves, they were to receive family instruction, and, when necessary, family punishment.

When apprentices or slaves became discontented and ran away from their masters, they were advertised in the newspapers, after they were established. It must be in the recollection of some present, that runaway apprentices were advertised in almost every paper published in the State, or in some parts of the State.

In the same way, at an earlier period, runaway slaves were advertised.

LAWS RELATING TO SLAVERY.

There have never been any laws in the Commonwealth of Connecticut creating property in slaves, any more than there have been laws creating property in horses. Such laws were deemed unnecessary, inasmuch as property can exist indepen-

dently of law. The dogma that property in slaves is the creature of local law, and the figment that all property is the creature of law, were not accepted in ancient Connecticut. These slaves, whether purchased or inherited, the people regarded as, in the language of Scripture, their "money." There were, however, many laws passed recognizing slaves as property, chattels. The people did not regard slaves as having any political rights which they were bound to respect. In the year 1660 Massachusetts passed the following law establishing negro slavery in the Colony :

AN ACT RESPECTING BOND-SLAVERY.

"It is ordered by this Court and by Authority thereof :
 "That there shall never be any bond-slavery, villianage, or
 "captivity amongst us, unless, it be Lawful captives, taken
 "in just Wars, (*or such*) as (*shall*) willingly sell themselves,
 "or are sold to us; and such shall have the liberties, and
 "Christian usnage which the Law of God, established in
 "Israel, concerning such persons, doth morally require,
 "provided this exempts none from servitude, who shall be
 "judged thereto by Authority.—1641."

Massachusetts Laws, Ed. 1660, P. 5.

This law establishing slavery in that Colony, Connecticut, though often disposed to "trot after the bay horse," appears not to have been adopted; though, in many respects, the legislation of Connecticut, in regard to slavery, was similar to that of Massachusetts.

SLAVERY, IN 1816.

The following from Judge Reeves's work on "*Domestic Relations*," page 483, illustrates this subject :

"At present, 1816, it is difficult to find, in the State of Connecticut, a slave. A Statute of this State, previous to March, 1784, was enacted, declaring, that all persons born

“of slaves, after the first of March, 1784, should be free at
 “the age of twenty-five; and a subsequent Statute enacts,
 “that all so born, after the first of August, 1797, should be
 “free at twenty-one. These Statutes, with a Statute forbid-
 “ding the importation of slaves, by land or water, will, in a
 “short time, put a period to slavery in this State; as those
 “born before 1784, most of them, have been emancipated by
 “their masters, so that scarcely a slave can be found. The
 “law, as heretofore practised, in this State, respecting slaves,
 “must now be uninteresting. I will, however, lest the slavery
 “which prevailed in this State, should be forgotten, mention
 “some things, that show that slavery, here, was very far
 “from being of the absolute, rigid kind.

“The master had no control over the life of his slave. If
 “he killed him, he was liable to the same punishment as if
 “he killed a freeman. The master was as liable to be sued
 “by the slave, in an action for beating or wounding, or for
 “immoderate chastisement, as he would be, if he had thus
 “treated an apprentice. A slave was capable of holding
 “property, in character of devisee or legatee. If the master
 “should take away such property, his slave would be entitled
 “to an action against him by his *prochein ami*. If one should
 “take away a slave from the owner, without his consent,
 “trover could not be maintained; but a special action on the
 “case. From the whole, we see, that slaves had the same
 “rights of life and property as apprentices; and that the
 “difference betwixt them, was this : an apprentice is a ser-
 “vant for time, and the slave is a servant for life. Slaves
 “could not contract, in Connecticut; for this is specially
 “forbidden by Statute.

“If a slave married a free woman, with the consent of his
 “master, he was emancipated; for his master had suffered
 “him to contract a relation inconsistent with a state of
 “slavery. The right and duties of a husband are incompati-
 “ble with a state of slavery. The master, by his consent,
 “had agreed to abandon his right to him as a slave. So,

“too, it has been holden, that a minor child is emancipated
 “from his father, when he is married. *Ld. Raym.*, 356. A
 “slave might be sold, in Connecticut, and the evidence of
 “the sale must be a Bill of Sale, and he might be taken in
 “execution, and sold at the post. When it is observed, that
 “slavery is not known at Common Law, it is not denied that
 “men may be punished with slavery for life, for crimes, with
 “perfect consistency with the principles of the Common Law.
 “If the Legislature can make laws, the transgression of which
 “may be punished with death, they can surely condemn to a
 “loss of liberty.”

LAWS OF CONNECTICUT, RESPECTING NEGROES.

I.

AN ACT for the punishment of Defamation.

And that if any *Negro, Indian, or Molatto Slave*, shall Utter, Publish, or Speak such words of, or concerning any other Person that would by Law be Actionable if Uttered, Published, or Spoken, by any Free Person of, or concerning any other; such *Negro, Indian, or Molatto-Slave*, being thereof Convicted before any one Assistant, or Justice of the Peace, (who are hereby Impowered to Hear and Determine the same) shall be punished by Whipping on the naked Body, at the Discretion of the Assistant, or Justice before whom the Trial is, (Respect being had to the Circumstances of the Case) not exceeding Forty Stripes. And such Slave so Convict, shall by such Authority be Sold, or Disposed of to defray all Charges arising thereupon : Unless the same be by his or her Master or Mistress paid and answered,

Provided nevertheless, That such Slave be not debarred from making such Pleas, and offering Evidences as his, her, or their Defence or Justification on such Trial as any other Per-

son might make Use of, being Sued in an Action of Defamation, so far as relates to the Trial before said Assistant or Justice, any Thing above to the contrary notwithstanding.*

II.

And whereas Indian, and Molatto-Servants, and Slaves are very apt to be Turbulent; and often to be Quarrelling with White People, to the great Disturbance of the Peace,

Be it therefore further Enacted by the Authority afore said That if any Indian, Negro, or Molatto-Servant, or Slave, shall Disturb the Peace, as afore said; or shall Offer to Strike any White-Person, and be thereof Convicted, such Servant, or Slave shall be punished by Whipping, at the Discretion of the Court, Assistant, or Justice that shall have Cognizance thereof: Not exceeding Thirty Stripes for One Offence.†

III.

AN ACT concerning Indian, Molatto, and Negro Servants and Slaves.‡

Be it Enacted by the Governor, Council, and Representatives, in General Court Assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That whatsoever Negro, Molatto, or Indian Servant, or Servants shall be found Wandering out of the Bounds of the Town, or Place to which they belong without a Ticket, or Pass in Writing under the Hand of some Assistant, or Justice of the Peace, or under the hand of the Master, or Owner of such Negro, Molatto, or Indian Servants, shall be deemed, and Accounted to be Run-aways, and may be treated as such: And every Person Inhabiting in this Colony, Finding, or

* Appears in the Revision of the Laws of 1750. p. 40. Passed May, 1730.

† Revision of 1750, p. 185. Passed May Session, 1708.—*Colonial Records*, v., 52.

‡ Revision of 1750, p. 229

Meeting with any such *Negro, Molatto, or Indian* Servant, or Servants not having a Ticket, as aforesaid, is hereby Impowered to Seise, and Secure him, or them, and Bring him, or them before the next Authority to be Examined, and Returned to his, or their Master, or Owner, who shall satisfy the Charge Accruing thereby,

And all Ferry-Men within this Colony, are hereby Required not to suffer any *Indian, Molatto, or Negro* Servant, without Certificate, as aforesaid, to pass over their Respective Ferries, by Assisting them therein Directly, or Indirectly, on the Penalty of paying a Fine of *Twenty Shillings* for every such Offense, to the Owner of such Servants.

And all Vagrants, or Suspected Persons may be Used in the like Manner, when found Wandering from Town to Town having no Certificate, or Pass, as aforesaid, who shall be seised, and Conveyed before the next Authority, to be Examined, and Disposed of according to Law.

And if any Free *Negroes* shall travel without such Certificate, or Pass, and be Stopped, Seised, or Taken up, as aforesaid, they shall pay all charges arising thereby.*

And for the Preventing such Servants from Stealing from their Masters, and Others; and for the better Governing them,

Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That every Free Person which shall presume, either Openly, or Privately to Buy, or Receive of, or from any Indian, Molatto, or Negro Servant, or Slave any Money, Goods, Merchandizes, Wares, or Provisions without order from the Master, or Mistress of such Servant, or Slave; every Person so Offending, and being thereof Convicted, shall be Sentenced to Restore all such Money, Goods, Merchandizes, Wares, and Provisions unto the Party Injured, in Specie, (if not Altered) and also Forfeit to the Party Double the Value thereof, over, and above; or Treble the Value where the same are Disposed of, or Made away; And if the Person so Offending be Unable to, or shall not make Restitution, as Awarded, then to be

* Passed October, 1690.—*Colonial Records*, iv., 40.

Openly Whipt with so many Stripes, (not exceeding Twenty) as the Court, or Justice that hath the Cognizance of such offence shall Order; or make Satisfaction by Service, To be Assigned therein by such Court, or Justice. And every *Indian, Negro, or Molatto* Servant, or Slave, of, or from whom such Money, Goods, Merchandizes, Wares, or Provisions shall be Received, or Bought, if it appear they were Stolen; or that shall Steal any Money, Goods, Merchandizes, Wares, or Provisions, and be thereof Convicted, (although the Buyer, or Receiver be not found) shall be punished by Whipping; not exceeding Thirty Stripes, and the Things Stolen to be Restored to the Party Injured, if found, or the Value thereof if not found : To be determined, as aforesaid.*

That if any *Negro, Molatto, or Indian* Servant, or Slave shall be found Abroad from Home in the Night Season after Nine of the Clock, without special Order from his, or their Master, or Mistress, it shall be Lawful for any Person, or Persons to Apprehend, and Secure such *Negro, Molatto, or Indian* Servant, or Slave so Offending, and him, her, or them Bring before the next Assistant, or Justice of the Peace; Which Authority shall have full Power to pass Sentence upon such Servant, or Slave, and Order him, her, or them to be publicly Whipped on the Naked Body; Not Exceeding Ten Stripes, and to pay Cost of Court; Except his, or their Master, or Mistress shall Redeem them, by paying a Fine, not Exceeding *Ten Shillings*.

And if such Servants, or Slaves shall have Entertainment in any House after Nine of the Clock, as aforesaid, (Except to do any Business they may be sent upon) the Head of the Family that Entertains, or Tolerates them in his, or her House, or any the Dependences thereof, shall Forfeit, and Pay the Sum of *Ten Shillings*: One Half to the Complainer, and the other Half to the Treasurer of the Town where the Offence is committed.

* This section passed May, 1708.—*Colonial Records*, v., 52.

And all Constables, and Grand-Jurors, and Tything-Men are Required to make Enquiry into and Present all Breaches of this Act.*

And for Preventing Disorders, and Insolences from being Committed by Indians brought from other Plantations; and for Preventing Charges coming upon Towns by Negro, Indian and Molatto Servants, and Slaves Coming, and being made Free. And that all Slaves set at Liberty by their Owners; and all *Negro, Molatto, or Spanish Indians* who are Servants to Masters for Time, in case they come to Want after they shall be so set at Liberty, or the Time of their said Service be Expired, shall be Relieved by such Owners, or Masters respectively, their Heirs, Executors, or Administrators; and upon their, or either of their Refusal so to do, the said Slaves, and Servants shall be Relieved by the Select-Men of the Towns to which they belong: And the said Select-Men shall Recover of the said Owners or Masters, their Heirs, Executors or Administrators all the Charge, and Cost they are at for such Relief, in the Usual Manner as in the case of any other Debts.†

IV.

AN ACT for prohibiting the Importation of Indian, *Negro, or Molatto Slaves.*‡

Whereas the Increase of Slaves in this Colony is injurious to the Poor, and inconvenient:

Be it Enacted by the Governor, Conncil, and Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That no Indian, Negro, or Molatto Slave, shall, at any Time hereafter be brought or imported into this Colony, by Sea or Land, from any Place or places whatsoever, to be disposed of, left, or sold within this Colony.

* This section passed May, 1723.

† Passed May, 1711.—*Colonial Records*, v., 233.

‡ Passed October, 1774.

Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That any Person or Persons, who shall hereafter, contrary to the true intent of this Act, import or bring any Indian, Negro, or Molatto Slave or Slaves into this Colony, to be disposed of, left, or sold within the same, or who knowing such Slave or Slaves to be so imported and brought into this Colony, shall receive or purchase them or any of them, shall forfeit and pay to the Treasurer of this Colony the Sum of One Hundred Pounds lawful money, for every Slave so imported, brought into this Colony, received, or purchased, to be recovered by Bill, Plaint, or Information, in any Court of Record proper to try the same.

And that it shall be the Duty of all Constables and Grand Jurors to enquire after, and make Presentment of all Breaches of this Act.

V.

AN ACT in addition to, and alteration of an Act, entitled
 “AN ACT concerning Indian, Molatto, and
 “Negro Servants and Slaves.”

Whereas it stands Enacted in said Act, *“That all Slaves set at Liberty by their Owners, and all Negro, Molatto or Spanish Indians who are Servants to Masters for Time, in Case they come to Want after they shall be set at Liberty, or the time of their said Service be expired, shall be relieved by such Owner, or Master respectively, their Heirs, Executors, or Administrators.”*

Therefore, *Be it enacted by the Governor, Council, and Representatives, in General Court assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That if any Master or Owner of any Servant or Slave, shall apply to the Select-men of the Town to which he belongs, for Liberty or Licence to Emancipate or make Free any such Servant or Slave it shall be the Duty of such Select-men to inquire into the Age, Abilities, Circumstances and Character of such Servant or Slave, and if they or the major Part of them, shall be of Opinion that it is likely to*

be consistant with the real Advantage of such Servant or Slave, and that it is probable that the Servant or Slave will be able to support his or her own Person, and that he or she is of good and peaceable Life and Conversation; such Selectmen or the major Part of them, shall give to the Owner or Master of such Servant or Slave, a Certificate under their Hands of their Opinion in the Premises, and that the Master or Owner of such Servant or Slave hath Liberty to emancipate and set at Liberty such Servant or Slave. And if the Master or Owner of any Servant or Slave shall, on receiving such Certificate, emancipate and set at Liberty such Servant or Slave, he, his Heirs, Executors and Administrators, shall be forever discharged from any Charge or Cost which may be occasioned by maintaining or supporting the Servant or Slave made Free as aforesaid; any Law, Usage, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding.*

And Whereas sound policy requires that abolition of slavery should be effected as soon as may be consistent with the rights of individuals, and the public safety and welfare. Therefore, Be it enacted, That no negro or molatto child, that shall after the first day of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, be born within this State, shall be held in servitude, longer than until they arrive to the age of twenty-five years, notwithstanding the mother or parent of such child was held in servitude at the time of its birth; but such child, at the age aforesaid shall be free : any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.†

* Passed in October, 1777.

† Passed at the Revision, in 1784.

VI.

CHAP. II

AN ACT *in addition to, and alteration of* ‘AN ACT,
 “ *concerning indian, mulatto, and negro*
“Servants, and Slaves.” *

Be it enacted by the Governour and Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, That if any Master or Owner of any Slave, shall be disposed to emancipate and make free such slave, and shall apply to any two of the civil authority, or one of the civil authority and two of the selectmen of the town, to which he belongs, it shall be the duty of said authority, or authority and selectmen (as the case may be) to enquire into the health and age of such slave, and if they find upon examination, that such slave is in good health, and is not of greater age than forty-five years, or less age than twenty-five years, said authority, or authority and selectmen shall give to the owner or master of such slave a certificate thereof under their hands. Provided that previous to giving such certificate, the persons giving the same shall be convinced by actual examination, of the slave to be made free by such certificate, that he or she is desirous thereof,

And if the master, or owner of any slave, shall on receiving such certificate, emancipate and set at liberty such slave, he, his heirs, executors and administrators shall be forever discharged from any charge, or cost, which may be occasioned by maintaining or supporting the slave made free as afore-said, Provided, That the letter of emancipation and certificate, shall be recorded in the records of the town where the master of such slave resides.

* Enacted in May, 1792.

VII.

CHAP. III.

AN ACT *in addition to an Act entitled* “AN ACT concerning
“*indian, mulatto, and negro Servants and Slaves.*” *

Be it enacted by the Governour and Council and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, That no negro or mulatto child, born within this state after the first day of August, 1797 shall be held in servitude longer than until he or she arrive to the age of twenty-one years; not withstanding the mother or parent of such child was held in servitude at the time of its birth, but such child at the age aforesaid shall be free : any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

VIII.

CHAP. IV.

AN ACT *to repeal certain Paragraphs of an Act entitled*
“AN ACT concerning *indian, mulatto, and*
“negro Servants and Slaves.” †

Be it enacted by the Governour and Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, That the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth paragraphs of said act be, and they are hereby repealed.

* Enacted in May, 1797.

† Enacted in October, 1797.

IX.

CHAP. V.

AN ACT to prevent the Slave Trade.*

Be it enacted by the Governour and Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, That no citizen or inhabitant of this state, shall for him self, or any other person, either as master, factor, super cargo, owner or hirer, in whole, or in part, of any vessel, directly or indirectly, import or transport, or buy or sell, or receive on board his or her vessel with intent to cause to be imported or transported, any of the inhabitants of any country in Africa, as slaves or servants, for term of years; upon penalty of *one hundred and sixty seven dollars*, for every person so received on board as aforesaid; and of *one thousand six hundred and sixty seven dollars* for every such vessel employed in the importation or transportation afore said; to be recovered by action, bill, plaint, or information : the one half to the plaintiff, and the other half to the uses of this state. And all insurance which shall be made in this state, on any vessel fitted out to the intent afore said, and employed as afore said, or on any slave or servants shipped on board as afore said for the purpose afore said, shall be void. And this act may be given in evidence, under the general issue in any suit commenced for the recovery of such insurance. *Be it further enacted* That if any person shall kidnap, decoy or forcibly carry off, out of this state, any free negro, indian, or mulatto, or any person entitled to freedom at the age of twenty-five years inhabitants or residents within this state; or shall be aiding or assisting therein, and be thereof duly convicted, shall forfeit *three hundred and thirty four dollars* to the use of this state; to be recovered by bill, plaint, or information, presented by any

* Enacted in October, 1788.

HIS. MAG. Vol. III, 19.

friends of such inhabitant or resident, which he is hereby authorized to do. And the court before whom the trial shall be, shall, in addition to said penalty, on conviction, give to the prosecutor, for the use of such injured inhabitant, or his family, (if any he have) such sum in damages, as they shall judge just and reasonable, to be applied in such way and manner as the court shall direct; and the said prosecutor shall give bond, with surety, before the court, for the application of the sums recovered, before he has execution thereof. *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall operate to prevent persons removing out of this state, for the purpose of residence, from carrying or transporting with them, such negroes or mulattoes, as belong to them, or to prevent persons living within this state, from directing their servants out of this state, about their ordinary and necessary business. *And be it further enacted*, That all persons who now are, or hereafter shall be possessed of any child, or children, born after the first day of March, 1784, and which by law shall be free at the age of twenty-five years, shall within six months from the rising of this assembly, or within six months after the birth of any such child, deliver, or cause to be delivered to the town clerk of the town where such possessor belongs, the name of such possessor, as also the age, name, and sex of every such child or children, on oath to the best of his or her knowledge, under the penalty of *seven dollars*, for each and every month's neglect, to be recovered before an assistant or justice of the peace; the one half to the complainant, and the other half to the use of the poor of the town where such child or children live.

X.

At a General Assembly of the State of Connecticut holden at New Haven in said State, on the 2d Thursday of Oct. A. D. 1788.

AN ACT to prevent the Slave-Trade.

Be it enacted by the Governour, Council and representatives in General Court assembled, and by the authority of the same; That no citizen or inhabitant of this State shall for himself or any other person, either as a master, factor, super cargo, owner or hirer, in whole or in part, of any vessel, directly or indirectly, import or transport, or buy or sell, or receive on board his or her vessel, with intent to cause to be imported or transported, any of the inhabitants of any country in Africa, as Slaves or servants for term of years; upon penalty of fifty pounds for every person so received on board as aforesaid; and of five hundred pounds for every such vessel employed in the importation or transportation aforesaid; to be recovered by action, bill, plaint, or information, the one half to the plaintiff, and the other half to the use of the State : and all insurance, which shall be made in this State, on any vessel fitted out to the intent aforesaid and employed as aforesaid, or on any slaves or servants shipped on board as aforesaid, for the purpose aforesaid: shall be void, and this act may be given in evidence, under the general issue, in any suit commenced for the recovery of such insurance.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any person shall kidnap, decoy or forcibly carry off out of this State, any free Negro, Indian, Mulatto, or any person entitled to freedom at the age of twenty-five years, inhabitants or residents within this State, or shall be aiding or assisting therein, and be thereof duly convicted, shall forfeit one hundred pounds to the use of this State, to be recovered by bill, plaint or information, presented by any friend of such inhabitant or resident, which he is hereby authorized to do;

and the court before whom the trial shall be, shall in addition to said penalty, on conviction, give to the prosecutor, for the use of such injured inhabitant, or his family, if any he have, such sum in damages, as they shall judge just and reasonable, to be applied in such way and manner, as the court shall direct; and the said prosecutor shall give bond, with surety, before the Court, for the due application of the sums recovered, before he has execution thereof. *Provided* that nothing in this act shall operate to prevent persons removing out of this State, for the purpose of residence, from carrying or transporting with them, such Negroes or Mulattoes, as belong to them, or to prevent persons living within this State, from directing their servants out of this State, about their ordinary and necessary business.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid ; That the owner, master or factor of each and every vessel clearing out for the coast of Africa, or suspected by any citizen of this State, to be intended for the slave trade in any part of the world, and the suspicion being declared to the naval officer, by such citizen, on oath, and such information being to the satisfaction of such naval officer, shall first give bond with sufficient sureties, to the treasurer of this State, in One thousand pounds, that none of the natives of Africa or any other foreign country, shall be taken on board said ship or vessel, during her voyage, with intent to be transported as slaves, to any other part of the world.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid ; That all persons who now are or hereafter shall be possessed of any children born after the first day of March 1784 and which by law shall be free at the age of twenty five years, shall within six months from the rising of this Assembly, or within six months after the birth of any such child, deliver or cause to be delivered to the town clerk of the town, where such possessor belongs, the name of such possessor, as also the age, name and sex of every such child or children, on oath, to the best of his or her knowledge under the penalty of forty

shillings for each and every month's neglect, to be recovered before an assistant or justice of the peace, the one half to the complainant and the other half to use of the poor of the town where such children live.

XI.

CHAP. VI.

AN ACT *in addition to an Act, entitled* "AN ACT to
"prevent the slave trade." *

Be it enacted by the Governour and Council and House of Representatives in the General Court assembled, That any forfeiture incurred by the breach of the third paragraph of said act, may be recovered by action, bill, plaint, or information, the one half to the plaintiff, and the other half to the use of this State.

XII.

CHAP. VII.

AN ACT *in addition to an Act, entitled* "AN ACT to
"prevent the Slave Trade." †

Be it enacted by the Governour and Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled, That no citizen or inhabitant of this state, shall transport out of this state for the purpose of selling into any other state, country or kingdom, either directly or indirectly, or buy or sell with intent to transport out of this state, or shall sell if transported, or shall aid, assist, or abet in buying or selling for the purpose aforesaid, or transporting into any other state, country or kingdom, any negro, mulatto, slave or servant, for years, upon penalty of three hundred and thirty four dollars, to be

* Enacted in October, 1789.

† Enacted in May, 1792.

recovered by action, bill, plaint or information, The one half to the plaintiff, and the other half to the use of this state. And all notes, bonds, mortgages, or securities of any kind or description, made or executed in payment, or part payment, for any negro, indian, mulatto, slave or servant, bought or sold, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, are hereby declared void. and of no effect. *Provided*, That nothing in this act shall operate to prevent persons removing out of this state for the purpose of residence, from carrying or transporting with them such negroes, indians, or mulattoes, as belong to them, or to persons living within this state, from directing their servants out of this state, about their ordinary business and necessary business. *Be it further Enacted by the Authority aforesaid*, That all *Indians*. Male, or Female, of what Age soever, Imported, or Brought into this Colony by Sea, or Land from any Place whatsoever, to be Disposed of, Left, or Sold within this Colony, shall be Forfeited to the Treasury of this Colony, and may be seised, and Taken accordingly; Unless the Person, or Persons Importing, or Bringing in such *Indian* or *Indians* shall give Security to some Naval Officer in this Colony of *Fifty Pounds per Head* to Transport, or Carry out the same again within the Space of one Months next after their coming, not to be Returned back to this Colony.

And every Master of Ship, or Vessel, Merchant, or Person whatsoever Importing, or Bringing into this Colony, by Sea, or Land any *Indian*, or *Indians*, Male, or Female, as aforesaid, shall within the Space of Twenty Four Hours after their Arrival, or Coming in, Report, and Enter their Names, Number, and Sex, and give Seenrity to some Naval Officer, as aforesaid, on pain of Forfeiting to the Treasury of this Colony the Sum of *Fifty Pounds per Head* : To be Sued for, and Recovered in any of His Majesty's Courts of Record, by Action, Bill, Plaint, or Information.

XIII.

Sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, repealed in 1797, are the first eight Sections of the law, on Page 229 of the Laws, Edition of 1769.

In May 1717. In the Lower House, a bill passed prohibiting negroes, purchasing land without liberty from the House and also from living in families of their own, without such liberty.

XIV

An Act was passed in 1838 entitled, *An Act for the fulfilment of the obligations of this State, imposed by the Constitution of the United States, in regard to persons held to service or labor in one State escaping into another, and to secure the right of Trial by Jury, in the cases herein mentioned.*

The Act is too long to be copied here. The real object of the Act was, to nullify the Act of Congress, passed in 1793, for the return of fugitive slaves.*

XV.

(*Law of 1844.*)

SECTION 5. No Judge, Justice of the peace, or other, appointed under the authority of this State, shall be authorised as such, to issue, or serve any warrant or process, for the arrest, or detention, of any person escaping into this State claimed to be a fugitive from labor or service, as a Slave, under the laws of any other State or country, or to grant a certificate of the title of any claimant to the services of any such person, with a view to his detention, or his removal out of this State, and any such Warrant or process so issued, and any certificate so granted by any Judge, Justice of the peace, or other officer of this State, shall be utterly void, and shall

* See *Local Law*, pp. 97, 98.

constitute no justification for any act done under the same; provided, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair any rights, which by the Constitution of the United States, may pertain to any person, to whom, by the laws of any other State, labor or service may be due, from any fugitive escaping into this State, or to prevent the exercise in this State of any powers which may have been conferred by Congress, on any Judge or other officer, of the United States, in relation to such rights.

XVI.

AN ACT TO PREVENT SLAVERY.

SEC. 1. BE IT ENACTED *by the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Assembly convened*, that no person shall hereafter be holden in Slavery.

SEC. 2. All persons until this time held in Slavery, and all persons heretofore Slaves, who have been emancipated by their masters, if they are reduced to want, shall be supported by their former Masters, their heirs, executors, and administrators, and on their refusal, the Select-men of the town where such persons belong, shall provide for their support; and the town shall be entitled, in proportion on the case, to recover all the expense of such support from the former Masters of such persons, or their heirs, Executors or Administrators, *provided* that nothing herein contained shall apply to cases where the Master emancipating his slave, has been heretofore exempted by law from liability for his support.

SEC. 3. The first, second, third, sixth, and seventh Sections of an Act entitled an Act to prevent slavery are hereby repealed.

Approved June 12, 1848.

XVII.

*AN ACT for the Defense of Liberty in this State,
passed in 1854.*

SECT. 1. Every person who shall falsely and maliciously declare, represent, or pretend, that any free person entitled to freedom, is a slave, or owes service or labor to any person or persons, with intent to procure or to aid or assist in procuring the forcible removal of such free person from this State as a Slave, shall pay a fine of five thousand dollars and be imprisoned five years in the Connecticut State prison.

SECT. 2. In all cases arising under this Act, the truth of any declaration, representation or pretense, that any person being or having been in this State is or was a slave, or owes or did owe service or labor to any other person or persons, shall not be deemed proved, except by the testimony of at least two credible witnesses testifying to facts directly tending to establish the truth of such declaration, pretense or representation, or by legal evidence equivalent thereto.

SECT. 3. Every person who shall wrongfully and maliciously seize, or procure to be seized, any free person entitled to freedom, with intent to have such free person held in slavery, shall pay a fine of five thousand dollars and be imprisoned five years in the Connecticut State prison.

SECT. 4. Upon the trial of any prosecution arising under this act, no deposition shall be admitted as evidence of the truth of any statement in such deposition contained.

SECT. 5. If, upon the trial of any prosecution arising under this act, any witness shall, in behalf of the party accused, and with intent to aid him in his defense, falsely and wilfully, in testifying, represent or pretend, that any person is or ever was a slave, or does or did owe service or labor to any person or persons, such witness shall pay a fine of five thousand dollars, and be imprisoned five years in the Connecticut State prison.

SECT. 6. Whenever complaint or information shall be made against any person for any offense described in any section of this act, and upon such complaint or information, a warrant shall have been duly issued for the arrest of such person, any person who shall hinder or obstruct a Sheriff, Deputy Sheriff or Constable in the service of such warrant, or shall aid such accused person in escaping from the pursuit of such officer, shall be imprisoned one year in the Connecticut State prison.

SECT. 7. No declaration, pretense or representation that any person is or was an apprentice for a fixed term of years or owes or did owe service merely as such an apprentice, for such fixed term, shall be deemed prohibited by this act, and no such declaration, pretense or representation that any person is or was such an apprentice for such fixed term, or owes or did owe service merely as such an apprentice for such fixed term, shall be liable to any penalty under this act.

XVIII.

I. In the year 1818, when the Constitution was adopted, in that instrument, white citizens only were allowed to vote.

II. In the year 1847, the question of striking out the word "white" was first submitted to the people—Yeas five thousand, three hundred, and fifty-three; Nays nineteen thousand, one hundred, and forty-eight; Majority against the measure, thirteen thousand, seven hundred, and ninety-five.

III. In the year 1865, the same question was submitted and resulted, Yeas twenty-seven thousand, two hundred, and seventeen; Nays thirty-three thousand, four hundred, and eighty-nine; Majority against the measure, six thousand, two hundred, and seventy-two.

IV. In the year 1869, at the May Session, the Legislature ratified the amendment to the Federal Constitution, allowing negroes to vote. Senate, Yeas twelve, Nays five; House, Yeas one hundred and twenty-six, Nays one hundred and four.

This vote of the Legislature seems to have been a partisan vote.

SOME BRIEF REMARKS

ON

The Address of the

Honorable CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D.,

PRONOUNCED ON THE OCCASION OF THE DEDICATION OF A NEW
LIBRARY BUILDING FOR THE USE OF THE
“ STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, OF
WISCONSIN,”

Founded by the late

LYMAN C. DRAPER.

SOME BRIEF REMARKS

ON THE ADDRESS OF

Hon. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, LL. D.

At Madison, Wisconsin, on the 19th October last, there was a notable gathering, assembled for the dedication of a new, spacious and handsomely appointed library building, needed for the accommodation of the vast accumulation of books, newspapers, pamphlets and manuscripts of the "State Historical Society of Wisconsin." The orator of the day was the Hon. Charles Francis Adams, LL. D., President of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The writer's purpose is, to comment on a portion of this somewhat remarkable address on slavery. Before doing so, he is impelled to refer to the splendid life work of the late Lyman C. Draper as there exhibited ! A public-spirited citizen, to whose intelligent foresight and continuous labors this truly great library, in a distant Northwestern State, owes its existence, in a little more than a generation of time !

Our late gifted townsman, William Gilmore Simms, many years ago, wrote these expressive lines, which might be truthfully included in Mr. Draper's epitaph :

"O ! Boy ! Man ! What a world is in the keeping,
Of him who nobly aims and bravely toils ;
Speed to the work, we'll all have time for sleeping,
When we have shuffled off these mortal coils."

The late Mr. Draper evidently lived in an appreciative community, who were responsive to his high aims ; among people who believed that history, literature, scholarship, represent the higher development of every community, with the capacity to value the genius, which cannot work with material instruments ; yet, which once recognized, stands thenceforth, as a part of the glory of the whole people ! This splendid example of individual effort should be an incentive to older communities ; to be imitated, with the certainty of beneficent results !

The Truth of History.

Mr. Adams represents the fourth generation of a family, with prominent representatives in each, and identified with the public life of the "Federal Union" for a century and a quarter. His topic was "the sifted grain and the grain sifter," and he has referred to African Slavery, and its political sequences in so new and interesting a fashion, as to make his views of consequence, containing as they do, some most surprising statements of facts not heretofore appearing, while he carefully omits, many pertinent matters which should have been most certainly included in a so-called historical paper. The implication of this able and eloquent address is, to separate the "Southern, or late Slave States" of the "Federal Union" from the Northern States; the former are made to represent all manner of wickedness, while the latter, from the implied altitude of superiority, have moved on the elevated line of "the stars in their courses."

"The Sifted Grain and the Grain Sifter."

We make some quotations from his address relating to slavery, and will comment on them with the purpose of supplying important information which, *in an historical address on African slavery in the "Federal Union,"* should be regarded as *obligatory*, and cannot very well be ignored, or attempted, as in this case.

In doing so the writer disclaims any intention of initiating anew a discussion or controversy on African slavery; the institution has passed away long years ago, and no intelligent Southerner desires, or would consent to its recall; when the slaves were set free, *their owners were emancipated* from a colossal burden; yes, forever released! More than a generation has passed since, with absolute governmental control of the freedman, even under "War Powers;" with several varieties of damaging experiments tried, and ending in utter failure, and the question is, as yet unanswered, what best to

do ? Like Banquo's ghost, it will not down ! Unfortunately for the whole country, the end is not yet !

The writer has seen a cargo of naked Africans crowded into a slave ship, brought into the port of Charleston by capture, on its way to the West Indies, just previous to "the War between the States;" the scene is fixed in memory; and life-long thoughts have been present since. Here was witnessed barbarism, thousands of years old, at the portal of civilization, and these Africans were remanded to barbarism. There has remained since, the reflection that for six generations—the care and responsibility for such barbarism has been fixed on the Southern people by the ship owners and mariners of *Old* and *New* England, who each amassed and put away vast wealth from this sinister traffic ! Again, the knowledge of the marvellous change from these specimens of barbaric Africans, compared to their numerous descendants, in and out of the South, civilized and Christianized, and the alleged despised masters who wrought this marvellous change, through six generations of time, did so as charged, "against the stars in their courses."

A gifted writer has recently said: "They had to train and teach a race of savages—a race which had never known the rudiments of decency, civilization or religion; a people which, despite the labors of colonists and missionaries, is seen in Africa to-day, as they were a thousand years ago; but a race which, influenced by these lives, taught by these Southern people for six generations, proved in the day of trial the most faithful of servants, and was declared in 1863, by the Northern people, to be its equal in civil and political rights."

* * * * *

(1) "Two and fifty years ago, when, in the summer of 1848, Wisconsin first took shape as a recognized political organization—a new factor in man's development—human evolution was laboring over two problems—*nationality and slavery*. Slavery—that is, the ownership of one man, or one

class of men, by another man, or class of men—*had existed, and been accepted as a matter of course, from the beginning.*

Historically, the proposition did not admit of doubt. In Great Britain bondage had only recently disappeared, and in Russia it was still the rule; while, among the less advanced nations, its rightfulness was nowhere challenged. With us here in America, it was a question of race. The equality of whites before the law was an article of political faith; not so that of the blacks. The Africans were distinctly an inferior order of being, and, as such, not only in the Southern, or Slave States, but throughout the North also, not entitled to the unrestricted pursuit on equal terms of life, liberty and happiness. Hence a fierce contention—the phase, as it presented itself on the land discovered by Columbus in 1492, of the struggle inaugurated by Luther in 1517. Its work was thus, so to speak, cut out for Wisconsin in advance of its being. Its place in the design of the great historical scheme prenatally assigned to it. How, then, did it address itself to its task? How perform the work thus given it to do? Did it, standing in the front rank of progress, help the great scheme along? Or, identifying itself with that reactionist movement ever on foot, did it strive with the stars in their courses? ”

(2) “Here in the United States the form in which the issue of the future took shape between 1830, when it first presented itself, and 1848, when Wisconsin entered the sisterhood of States, is even yet only partially understood, in such occult ways did the forces of development interact and exercise influence on each other. For reasons not easy to explain, also, certain States came forward as the more active exponents of antagonistic ideas—on the one side Massachusetts; on the other first, Virginia, and later South Carolina. The great and long sustained debate, which closed in an appeal to force in the spring of 1861, must now be conceded as something well nigh inevitable from fundamental conditions which dated from the beginning. *It was not a question of slavery;*

it was one of nationality. The issue had presented itself over and over again in various forms, and in different parts of the country, ever since the Constitution had been adopted—now in Pennsylvania, now in Tennessee, now in New England, even here in Wisconsin; but, in its most concrete form, in South Carolina. It was a struggle for mastery between centripetal and centrifugal forces. At the close slavery was, it is true, the immediate cause of quarrel, but the seat of disturbance lay deeper. In another country, and under other conditions, it was the identical struggle which, in feudal times, went on in Great Britain, in France, and in Spain, and which, more recently, and in our own day only, we have seen brought to a close in Germany and in Italy—the struggle of a rising spirit of nationality to overcome the clannish instinct—the desire for local independence.”

(3) “In the beginning, Virginia stood forward as the exponent of State Sovereignty. Jefferson was its mouth-piece. It was he who drew up the famous Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99, and his election to the Presidency in 1800 was the recognized victory of the school of States’ Rights over Federalism. Later the parties changed sides—as political parties are wont to do. Possession of the Government led to a marked modification of views; new issues were presented; and, in 1807, the policy which took shape in Jefferson’s Embargo, converted the Federalist into a disunion organization, which disappeared from existence in the famous Hartford Convention of 1814-15. New England was then the centre of the party of the centrifugal force, and the issues were commercial. Fortunately, up to 1815, the issue between the spirit of local sovereignty and the ever-growing sense of nationality had not taken shape over any matter of difference sufficiently great and far-reaching to provoke an appeal to force. Not the less for that was the danger of conflict there—a sufficient cause and suitable occasion only were wanting, and those under ordinary conditions might be counted upon to present themselves in due course

of time. They did present themselves in 1832, still under the economical guise. But now the moral issue lurked behind, though the South did not yet stand directly opposed to the advancing spirit of the age. But Nullification—the logical outcome of the theory of absolute State Sovereignty—was enunciated by Calhoun, and South Carolina took from Virginia the lead in the reactionary movement from nationality. The danger once more passed away; but it is obvious to us now, and, it would seem, should have been plain to any cool-headed observer then, that, when the issue next presented itself, a trial of strength would be well nigh inevitable. The doctrine of State Sovereignty, having assumed the shape of Nullification, would next develop that of Secession, and the direct issue over Nationality would be presented.”

(4) “Almost before the last indications of danger over the economical question had disappeared, slavery loomed ominously up. They did not realize it at the time, but it was now an angry wrangle over a step in the progressive evolution of the human race. The equality of man before the law and his Maker was insisted upon, and was denied. It was a portentous issue, for in it human destiny was challenged. The desperate risk the Southern States then took is plain enough now. They entered upon a distinctly reactionary movement against two of the foremost growing forces of human development—the tendency to nationality and the humanitarian spirit. Though they knew it not, they were arraying themselves against the very stars in their courses.”

(5) “While in the South it passed from Virginia to Carolina, in the North it remained in Massachusetts. Three men then came forward there, voicing more clearly than any or all others what was in the mind of the community in the way of aspiration, whether moral or political. *These three were: William Lloyd Garrison, Daniel Webster and John Quincy Adams; they were the prophetic voices of that phase of American political evolution then in process.* Their messages, too, were curiously divergent; and yet, apparently contradictory, they were, in

reality, supplementary to each other. Garrison developed the purely moral side of the coming issue. Webster preached nationality, under the guise of love of the Union. Adams, combining the two, pointed out a way to the establishment of the rights of man under the Constitution, and within the Union."

(6) "Recurring, then, to the three men I have named as voicing systematically a message of special significance in connection with the phase of political evolution, or of development, if that word is preferred, then going on—Garrison's message was distinctly moral and humanitarian. In a sense, it was reactionary, and violently so. In it there was no appeal to patriotism, no recognition even of nationality. On the contrary, in the lofty atmosphere of humanitarianism in which he had his being, I doubt if Garrison ever inhaled a distinctly patriotic breath; while he certainly denounced the Constitution, and assailed the Union. He saw only the moral wrong of slavery, its absolute denial of the fundamental principle of the equality of men before the law and before God, and the world became his—where freedom was, there was his country. To arouse the dormant conscience of the community by the fierce and increasing denunciation of a great wrong, was his mission, and he fulfilled it; but, curiously enough, the end he labored for came in the way he least foresaw, and through the very instrumentality he had most vehemently denounced—it came within that Union which he had described as a compact with death, and under that Constitution which he had arraigned as a covenant with hell. Yet Garrison was undeniably a prophet, voicing the Gospel as he saw it, fearlessly and without pause. As such, he contributed potently to the final result."

(7) "Next Webster. It was the mission of Daniel Webster to preach nationality. In doing so, he spoke in words of massive eloquence in direct harmony with the most pronounced aspiration of his time—that aspiration which has asserted itself, and worked the most manifest results of the

nineteenth century in both hemispheres—in Spain and Prussia during the Napoleonic war, in Russia during the long Slavonic upheaval; again more recently in Germany and Italy, and finally in the United States. The names of Stein, of Cavour, and of Bismarck, are scarcely more associated with this great instinctive movement of the century, than is that of Daniel Webster. His mission it was to preach to this people Union, one and indivisible; and he delivered his message.”

(8) “The mission of J. Q. Adams, during his best and latest years, while a combination of that of the two others, was different from either. His message, carefully thought out, long retained, and at last distinctly enunciated, was his answer to the Jeffersonian theory of State Sovereignty, and Calhoun’s doctrine of Nullification and its logical outcome, Secession. With both theory and doctrine, and their results, he had during his long political career been confronted; on both he had reflected much. It was during the administration of Jefferson, and on the question of Union, that he had, in 1807, broken with his party and resigned from the Senate; and with Calhoun he had been closely associated in the cabinet of Monroe. Calhoun also had occupied the Vice-Presidential chair during his own administration. He now met Calhoun face to face on the slavery issue, prophetically proclaiming a remedy for the moral wrong and the vindication of the rights of man, *within the Union and under the Constitution, through the exercise of inherent war powers, whenever an issue between the sections should assume the insurrectionary shape. In other words, Garrison’s moral result was to be secured, not through the agencies Garrison advocated, but by force of that nationality which Webster proclaimed. This solution of the issue, J. Q. Adams never wearied of enunciating, early and late, by act, speech and letter; and his view prevailed in the end.* Lincoln’s proclamation of January, 1863, was but the formal declaration of the policy enunciated by J. Q. Adams, on the floor of Congress in 1836, and again in 1841, and yet again in greater detail in 1842. It was he

who thus brought the abstract moral doctrines of Garrison into unison of movement with the nationality of Webster."

"The time now drew near when Wisconsin was to take her place in the Union, and exert her share of influence on the national polity, and through that polity on a phase of political evolution. South Carolina, by the voice of Calhoun, was preaching reaction through slavery, and in defiance of nationality; Massachusetts, through Garrison and Webster, was proclaiming the moral idea and nationality as abstractions; while *J. Q. Adams confronted Calhoun with the ominous contention that, the instant he or his had recourse to force, that instant the moral wrong could be made good by the sword wielded in defense of Nationality, and in the name of the Constitution.*"

"Returning now to the Presidential election of 1848, it will be found that Wisconsin, the youngest community in the Union, came at once to the front as the banner State of the West in support of the principles on which the Union was established, and the maintenance and vindication of those fundamental principles within the Union and through the Constitution??? In that canvas the great issues of the future were distinctly brought to the front."

"For the disciples of J. Q. Adams in both political camps, it was as if the cry had again gone forth: "To your tents, O Israel!"—and a first fierce blast of the coming storm then swept across the land. In August the Dissentients met in conference at Buffalo, and there first enunciated the principles of the American political party of the future—that party which, *permeated by the sentiment of Nationality, was destined to do away with slavery through the war power, and to incorporate into the Constitution the principle of the equality of man before the law, irrespective of color or of race.*"

"In 1836 Mr. Adams represented in Congress what was then the Massachusetts "Plymouth" District. In April of that year the issue, which, just twenty-five years later, was to result in overt civil war, was fast assuming shape; for, on the 21st of the month, the battle of San Jacinto was fought,

resulting immediately in the independence of Texas, and more remotely in its annexation to the United States, and the consequent War of Spoliation (1846-48) with Mexico. At the same time petitions in great number were pouring into Congress from the Northern States, asking for the abolition of slavery, and the prohibition of the domestic slave trade, in the District of Columbia; the admission into the Union of Arkansas, with a Constitution recognizing slavery, was also under consideration. In the course of a long personal letter, dated April 4th, 1836 written to the Hon. Solomon Lincoln, of Hingham, a prominent constituent of his, Mr. Adams made the following incidental reference to the whole subject, indicative of the degree to which the question of martial law as a possible factor in the solution of the problem then occupied his mind :

“The new pretension of the slave representations in Congress, of a right to refuse to receive petitions, and that Congress have no Constitutional power to abolish slavery or the slave trade in the District of Columbia, forced upon me so much of the discussion as I did take upon me, but in which you are well aware I did not, and could not speak a tenth part of my mind. I did not, for example, start the question whether by the Law of God and of Nature, man can hold property, hereditary property in man—I did not start the question whether in the event of a servile insurrection and war, Congress would not have complete, unlimited control over the whole subject of slavery, even to the emancipation of all the slaves in the State where such insurrection should break out, and for the suppression of which the freedom of Plymouth and Norfolk Counties, Massachusetts, should be called by Act of Congress to pour out their treasures and to shed their blood. Had I spoken my mind on those two points, the sturdiest of the Abolitionists would have disavowed the sentiments of their champion.”

* * * * *

Referring to the first quoted paragraph (1), read in connection with the Constitution of the “Federal Union,” and

with Mr. Adams' graphic description of the universality of human bondage at that date in many forms, the writer finds for the first time, this new declaration of *two* problems—"Nationality or Slavery?" It seems so strange that no allusion is made, at this point of the address, to the organic law of the land, which unquestionably recognized slavery as property, and representation in Congress based thereon, with the equally conspicuous fact that there would have been no "Federal Union" without such recognition, for at that date slavery really existed in all the "old thirteen;" writing, too, of a period when slave property was represented in Congress; when every member before taking his seat, was obliged to take an oath to support and defend that Constitution. This new declaration must be accepted as the date of that "higher law" than the Constitution, and of course, made in secret, and it will be interesting to follow its subsequent course.

In the second paragraph quoted (2), the orator is quite discursive, and brings to his aid a presentation of conditions abroad, running through four centuries of time, when, as a matter of fact, the conditions in our "Federal Union," under a written Constitution, were only properly to be considered. To substitute for this, a sentimental picture of "the rising spirit of Nationality, to overcome the desire for local independence," to deny the naked fact that the true meaning of the war issue with England in 1776, as presented in the "Declaration of Independence," and achieved by a seven years war, with costly sacrifices, in which South Carolina had borne the larger share, was the purpose to secure the then most desired end—"the consent of the governed" as a primal condition in the new "Federal Union," is what Mr. Adams goes on record as asserting and believing.

In reading the third (3) quoted paragraph, one cannot but admire the truthfulness of the narrative, in exhibiting New England as the originator of secession and disunion, and especially for purely local causes, asserting forcefully the dogma of "*the consent of the governed*;" this is certainly

treated *historically*, and in its proper place. And true it also is, that disunion had its origin in New England, and but for the peace of 1815, the purpose behind the Hartford Convention would have culminated in the withdrawal of those States from the "Federal Union;" yet how remarkable is the further fact, that the orator utters no word of regret or censure at the intentions of these selfish and deliberate Revolutionists, fixed in purpose to go to the extreme of disunion, to assert and defend *their supposed local interests!*

In the fourth (4) quoted paragraph, Mr. Adams is again eloquently sentimental—he refers pathetically to the "progressive evolution of the human race," "the equality of man before the law (?) and his Maker insisted on," "human destiny challenged," "arraying themselves against the very stars in their courses," etc.

The writer reviewing these curious utterances, is forced to think them out of place in an historical address; that the real origin and progress of slavery, and its resultant conditions in the "Federal Union," would have been more appropriate if treated historically; and as it is absolutely necessary to amend this faulty record, to have a proper understanding of the subject, under the Constitution, the writer will supply some of the omissions.

Ever since Captain William Hawkins, about 1534, visited the Guinea Coast and carried off Africans to slavery, followed by his son, Captain John Hawkins, who founded on an extensive scale, *the English Slave Trade*, England for 270 years led the world in this dreadful traffic, in which New England largely participated, *as a good second!* It is a notorious fact, that the African slaves in America were landed in Southern ports, by the ship owners and mariners of Old and New England; it was a lucrative trade, and was pursued relentlessly by these money-loving and money-getting people up to the early years of the XIX Century. Large fortunes were realized on a single successful voyage; when this is multiplied by hundreds, and even thousands of voyages, the aggregate

of wealth must have been enormous on both sides of the Atlantic ! What, then, has become of this large wealth ? These immense profits from slave trading ? It will scarcely be denied that much of it is still in existence; the thrift of Old and New England, through careful investments and reinvestments, may be traced to-day into thousands of family estates, paying to descendants their regular semi-annual dividends. It is then highly probable that despite the "*stars in their courses*," families in Old and New England are yet receiving incomes from slavery and the slave trade, due to that acquisitive phase of financial prescience, which, towards the end of the infamous business, passed acts of emancipation, to be effective at future dates, affording ample time and full opportunity to turn their slaves into cash in Southern markets ! If any emancipation act in a Northern State ever caused the loss of the value of one slave, the writer would like to have the evidence of that fact. The generally received opinion is, that to get into a favorable position, to move with "*the stars in their courses*," was skilfully accomplished without pecuniary loss.

Northern slave owners having successfully changed their investments from slave property to numerous secure investments, unloading their slaves on the South, we have in the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth paragraphs the open declaration of the deliberate purpose to destroy the property sold by them, despite the explicit protection of the Federal Constitution. This effort for spoliation was made through long years, and as the public is now authoritatively informed, with the secret purpose of so shaping events as to evade all compensation for this property; to destroy it, and so prostrate the twelve States interested *materially* and *politically* by these losses in this class of property.

While Garrison is reported as an open revolutionist against the organic law, and is neither reproached nor censured by Mr. Adams, the truly great Webster was pleading for the Constitutional Union of the Fathers, and for this patriotic appeal was politically ignored and publicly denounced !

“So earth’s best teachers have been overborne
 By the coarse crowd, and fainting, droop or die;
 They bear the cross, their bleeding brows the thorns,
 And ever hear the clamor—Crucify!”

Ex-President J. Q. Adams, as herein recorded by his grandson, was the author of the scheme by which the war powers of the Federal Union, despite the Constitution, which he had many times solemnly sworn as President and Member of Congress to uphold and defend, was to be secretly the means to the end !!!

The writer fully understands, and as fully appreciates the change of thought on the subject of African slavery; true it is, that “the thoughts of men are widened with the process of the suns.” Yet it may be remarked that the poet’s thought was not exclusively accepted in Northern communities.

It may well be properly recalled that before England abolished slavery, her Parliament provided compensation to owners, and paid for the slaves she set free !! In the movement against African slavery in the Federal Union, continued surreptitiously, according to Mr. Adams, through an entire generation of time, no instance can be recalled of an individual, town meeting, or any convention of the party, that now boasts of the destruction of the institution, where a voice was ever raised to pay for the property to be so destroyed!

In this way, with untold millions of slave money still in their possession, a revolutionary “remedy for the moral wrong, and the vindication of the rights of man, within the Union, and under the Constitution (???), through the exercise of inherent war powers, was found.” In the presence of such conditions it is well to note the very conspicuous fact, that in putting into execution this purpose, it was done outside of the organic law of the Federal Union, and not until *after the act* was the Constitution amended to suit the new conditions.

Mr. Adams’ address on slavery, with its unexpected admis-

sions and omissions, its remarkable statements, should have further comment, but the writer's limit of space is filled, and a concluding paragraph must suffice.

While New England was plying its profitable vocation, in the slave trade, the public records of South Carolina show, that as early as 1698, and in 1712, 1714, 1716, 1740, 1744, 1764, Acts of the Commons House of Assembly were publicly protesting against these slave importations ! That after making all the money possible, and themselves owning slaves, they passed Acts of Emancipation to mature in after years; "*ad interim*" they sold their slaves to the South, and reinvested the proceeds in good interest-bearing securities. Having successfully accomplished this, they began an anti-slavery movement, antagonistic to the Federal Constitution and, that more than one who had solemnly sworn to uphold and defend that Constitution, were for years secretly plotting the destruction of the institution, without compensation, and finally succeeded in destroying \$2,000,000,000 (two billions of property) ! ! And this was not the sum total of loss—the depreciation of lands in the South, was also enormous and accounts for the physical prostration of the Southern States through an entire generation of time ! The pretenders to superior sanctity, with their pockets stuffed full of slave-trade money certainly achieved a great success ! ! ! In the presence of such threatening and unparalleled losses, is there any wonder that a brave people should have resisted this spoliation ; believing that "It is better for us to die in battle than to behold the calamities of our people—and our sanctuary."

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